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IMMIGRANTS AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MARKET

MANPOWER RESEARCH MONOGRAPH

NO. 31

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Peter J. Brennan, Secretary
Manpower Administration



1974

PREFACE

This monograph is based on a report (of the same title)^{1/} which, in turn, was based on the first two phases of what is hoped to be a continuing study financed under Department of Labor research and development contract 20-11-73-01. That study was conducted by David S. North and William G. Weissert. Mr. North is the author of the monograph.

The research on the impact of immigrants on the American labor market had been suggested by Dr. Howard Rosen of the Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. It was conducted by TransCentury Corporation with the assistance of Linton, Miels, & Coston, Inc., both of Washington, D.C. The 5,000 matched sets of immigration documents, which played a major role in the study, were made available by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice.

^{1/} The full text may be purchased from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va. 22151, for \$6.75. Specify accession number PB 221200.

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INTRODUCTION

This study sought answers to several questions about how immigrants behave in the U.S. labor market. What kinds of skills did these immigrants bring with them? How were these skills being used? How did the immigrants adjust to the labor market? How accurate were the traditional measuring devices regarding their skill mix and their participation in the labor force?

The answers to these questions may be useful to those who make policy in the immigration and manpower fields, both those in the Congress who write immigration and manpower legislation and those in the executive branch who administer the resulting programs. They may also be useful to those in State, local, and private manpower and immigrant-assistance agencies who work with the new arrivals.

The study discovered what appear to be direct relationships between the various provisions of the immigration law and the demographic and occupational mixes of the people admitted under these provisions. These findings could be useful the next time Congress revises the basic immigration statute.

Other findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. Immigrants are making a substantial impact on the U.S. labor market but a smaller one than in the early 1900's. Further, the impact is uneven, affecting cities more than suburbs or rural areas and some States and some occupations more than others.
2. The immigration system was designed with only the most indirect reference to the needs of the American labor market.
3. Around 1900, immigrants had remarkably different demographic characteristics from other residents of this country; in recent years, immigrant cohorts have been approaching the American norm in sex, age, marital status, distribution among the States, and labor force participation.
4. The American immigration system as now constituted facilitates immigration from some nations (notably Mexico, the Philippines, and Italy) but not from others. The system also results in an immigration mix which is heavily weighted toward relatives of earlier immigrants.

5. Immigrants make more impact on the labor market than previously supposed. Estimates based on visa application information indicated that a minority of immigrants were in the labor force; this study shows, to the contrary, that a majority (of all ages) are in the labor force.

6. Immigrants, on arrival, are more likely to be professionals or craftsmen than Americans generally and are less likely to be either clerical workers or managers.

7. Many immigrant workers move out of their occupation groups as a result of contact with the American labor market; although domestic servants generally move on to better jobs, substantial numbers of professionals and craftsmen drift downward.

8. Immigrants continue to compete effectively in the American labor market.

9. The crucial variable of job success is the command of English.

Most of the raw material for this study was drawn from an examination of Government documents filed by 5,000 working-age immigrants who entered the United States during fiscal year 1970.^{1/} The 5,000, between the ages of 18 and 59 upon their arrival, were drawn at random from the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the nine States receiving the largest numbers of immigrants in 1970: New York, California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, Texas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. (More than three-quarters of the 1970 immigrants settled in these States.)

For each immigrant, the researchers obtained two separate documents--the visa application (FS 510) filed a year or more before his arrival in the United States and the alien registration card (I-53) filed in January 1972. All significant data on both documents were then coded, and frequency distributions and cross-tabulations were run.

A substantial amount of data was available in these documents--the immigrant's age, sex, and marital status; country of birth, of citizenship, and of last residence; immigration classification; intended city, county, and State of residence (on the application); and actual city, county and State of residence (on the alien address report). Major pieces of information were occupation at the time of seeking a visa and at the time of filing the address report. On the latter occasion, the alien also supplied the name of his current or former employer.

^{1/} A minority of the sample had arrived in the United States before 1970 but adjusted from nonimmigrant to immigrant status in 1970.

In addition, the study's staff interviewed 201 employers of immigrants (named on the alien address reports), 115 aliens, numerous people in the immigrant-aiding agencies, and other knowledgeable people, including several staff members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Existing data and commentary about immigrants in the labor force were also examined.

BACKGROUND

Significance of Immigrants in the U.S. Labor Market

The immigrants' role in the labor force in recent years, although a very important one, is rather different and less dramatic than in the early 1900's. The number of new arrivals is smaller, and they are being absorbed into a far more populous society.

In 1905, this Nation of approximately 80 million received more than 1 million immigrants a year; these immigrants tended to be young, unskilled, and unmarried. In recent years, this Nation of more than 200 million has absorbed fewer than 400,000 immigrants a year; these immigrants are older, more likely to be skilled, and more likely to be married than their predecessors.

Further, the current immigrants are less different from Americans generally--in age, sex ratio, marital status, labor force participation, and occupational classification--than immigrants were early in the century.

In numbers, an average of a little more than 372,000 immigrants have been coming to the United States during the last 4 fiscal years (1969-72).^{1/} and an average of a little more than 192,000 of them are workers. (The derivation of the latter figure is explained in the following chapter.)

If one compares 192,000 new immigrant workers with the total U.S. labor force (89 million in 1972), one can easily conclude that immigrants are simply a drop in the proverbial bucket.

Instead, it is suggested that the number of newly arriving immigrant workers be compared with the annual increase in the labor force. In recent years the total labor force has been expanding at the rate^{2/} of 1,600,000 per year, from 84,200,000 in 1969 to 89,000,000 in 1972.^{2/} For these years, the estimated average number of newly arrived immigrant labor force participants is a little more than 192,000. Thus immigrants account for about 12 percent of the yearly expansion in the labor force--a substantial proportion.

One worker in eight is a significant share of itself, and the impact is greater in some areas than this proportion suggests because immigrants are not distributed evenly around the country; as will be shown later and in greater detail, immigrants tend to live near the seacoasts and to gather in certain States and in urban areas.

^{1/} "Years" in future references mean fiscal years unless otherwise specified.

^{2/} Manpower Report of the President (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973), table A-1.

Immigrants are distributed unevenly not only around the country but also through the occupational structure. The two extremes of the American occupational prestige scale, physicians and maids, are both overrepresented among the immigrants,^{3/} and both have been the subject of continuing controversy. (The doctors were among those cited in the brain drain arguments, while the domestic servants were the subject of disputes between the Department of Labor, which discouraged their admission, and their well-connected, would-be employers.)

By occupational group, the immigrant cohort of 1970 had substantially more professional and technical workers (29.4 percent), more household workers (6.7 percent), and more farm laborers (2.7 percent) than the Nation as a whole,^{4/} which had, respectively, 14.2 percent, 2.0 percent, and 1.7 percent of its employed work force in these categories in 1970.^{5/}

It is contended, however, that the occupational specialization of the immigrants has been overstated. In general, immigrants who arrive as domestics soon find their way to better jobs, while, at the other extreme, many of the professionals are forced to shift to nonprofessional occupations. One might term this process the "homo-genization" of the immigrant occupational mixture.

The American Immigration System

The immigration policy of the United States has developed in a pattern which might be described as a series of experiments.

At first there was no system at all; everyone was welcome. Then a disturbing thing happened: different kinds of people started showing up at the gate, and the Congress began passing exclusionary legislation. The first of a long series of measures was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

^{3/} David S. North, Alien Workers, A Study of the Labor Certification Program (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971), p. 130. (Prepared for the Department under research contract 81-11-71-08.)

^{4/} Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report, 1970 (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, 1971), table 10A.

^{5/} 1973 Manpower Report, table A-11. Data relate to calendar year 1970.

These negative policies were, in the 1920's, supplemented by more complicated quota systems, which set an upper limit on the number of immigrants who were to be admitted from each nation in the Old World. All these laws, however, regulated immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere but set no numerical limits on Western Hemisphere immigration.

Finally, after four successive presidents had urged the action, the Congress repealed the country of origin quota system by passing the Immigration Amendments of 1965. What the Nation has now is a highly intricate system, a result of a series of compromises among competing interests and equities.

The current immigration system, in its broadest terms, is designed to meet three goals:

- To facilitate the unification of families.
- To allow the admission of some workers with needed skills.
- To permit the arrival of a relatively small number of carefully defined refugees.

These three considerations--family reunion, particularly, and concern for the admission of skilled workers and refugees--had played roles in the Nation's previous immigration laws, but they had been overshadowed by the ethnocentric country quota system. That system was openly designed to encourage immigration from Northern and Western Europe and to discourage it from the rest of the Eastern Hemisphere.

A description of the workings of the current system is needed prior to a discussion of the immigrants and their impact on the labor market.

One can detect a halting, action-and-then-reaction quality about U.S. immigration policy. The Nation creates complicated quota systems, only to find that some categories are perpetually oversubscribed and others ignored. Attempts to create worldwide equity fail to achieve it. For instance, if a woman from Madagascar and a woman from Mexico both have babies on the same day in the same hospital in El Paso, the woman from Mexico (because of her child) has an opportunity to become an immigrant, but the woman from Madagascar has no such right. On the other hand, if the woman from Madagascar has a brother here who is a citizen, she can become an immigrant on the basis of that relationship, but the woman from Mexico (with a sibling in the same situation) cannot.

Under the current system, all immigrants are divided into basic classes; the larger group is subject to the numerical limitations set forth in the 1965 amendments; the smaller group is not. In 1970 the United States admitted 287,283 in the former category and 86,043 (mostly immediate relatives of U.S. citizens) in the latter. The figures for 1970 are fairly typical of the experience under the new immigration law, except for 1968, when an exceptionally large number of Cuban refugees were admitted.

The numerical limitations are complicated, and in some situations an immigrant faces a ceiling within a ceiling within a ceiling. Again, Congress has decided that all immigrants under numerical limitation fall into two categories--those from the Eastern Hemisphere (where the total is 170,000) and from the Western Hemisphere (where the maximum is 120,000.)

For the Eastern Hemisphere, there is a "preference" system (see Statistical Appendix, table 1) which may raise as many questions as it answers. For instance, how can there be more third preference admissions than the ceiling and more admissions generally than the 170,000 maximum?

The answer is that the utilization figure in the table is for admissions, while the ceiling relates directly to visa issuances. The Department of State issues no more than 170,000 visas, as directed by law, but some visas issued in the previous year were used during fiscal 1970, producing the 172,546 total.

A further complication in the Eastern Hemisphere system is that no nation is allowed more than 20,000 of the 170,000 places. Only two nations, Italy and the Philippines, have been affected by this part of the law. Since each has more than 20,000 people who want to come to this country each year and are qualified to do so, only those with relatively high preference standing can secure visas.

There is no preference system for the Western Hemisphere; people simply qualify for immigration, and then wait their turn for a visa. The wait was about 22 months as of August 1973.

In general, immigration from Western Hemisphere countries is possible for people with sufficient skills to secure a labor certification (a subject dealt with later) or people with the right kind of relative. As suggested earlier, the "right kind of relative" for immigration purposes is defined differently for the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres. For both, spouses and children of citizens and the parents of adult citizens are regarded as immediate relatives and can be admitted outside the numerical limits. For the Eastern Hemisphere, the kinds of relatives who receive preference in securing visas within the numerical limits are described in appendix table 1. The Western Hemisphere relatives who can secure comparable visas are spouses and children of resident aliens and the parents of U.S. citizens and resident aliens.

Earlier, this monograph stated that the immigration law is designed to reunite families, admit skilled workers, and assist some refugees. It is interesting to review the number of immigrants from the yearly cohorts admitted under provisions geared to these three objectives.

The 1970 cohort of immigrants can be divided into four groupings, ^{6/} the first three corresponding to these aims:

Relatives-----	284,347
Labor certification beneficiaries-----	60,566
Refugees-----	22,071
Members of other, smaller categories-----	6,342

If the United States were a university, one might expect some comments to the effect that the admissions mix was heavily weighted in favor of relatives of the alumni rather than talent.

^{6/} These statistics for the 1970 cohort of immigrants are derived from the INS Annual Report, 1970, table 4. For the purposes of this analysis, relatives are defined as those immigrants admitted subject to numerical limitations (both Eastern and Western Hemisphere) plus immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, minus the sum of seventh preference conditional entrants (refugees); Cuban refugees admitted under the act of Nov. 2, 1966; and beneficiaries of labor certification. The total for the two kinds of refugees came directly from table 4 of the INS Report, while the source of labor certification beneficiary data can be found in the notes to table 2. Members of other, smaller categories are termed "special immigrants" in the INS table and include primarily children born abroad to resident aliens, ministers of religion and their spouses and children, and aliens adjusted (to permanent resident alien status) under section 249, Immigration and Nationality Act. This formulation tends to overstate the number of relatives by an unknown amount, perhaps several thousand individuals. This is the case because some of the visas issued without labor certifications, here counted as being issued to relatives, were in fact issued to students, investors, and foreign nationals in the U.S. Armed Forces. The Visa Office, U.S. Department of State, is aware of these categories but does not have a system for recording the numbers involved.

Labor certification beneficiaries are a diminishing element in the immigration picture. In the last 5 fiscal years, both the absolute number of beneficiaries and the percentage of immigrants with certifications have fallen steadily.

Meanwhile, the percentage of beneficiaries who adjust their status from nonimmigrant to immigrant (i.e., they are in the United States and are probably already working in the job to which they are certified has been steadily rising (see appendix table 2).

The decreasing utilization of the certifications reflects both a declining number of applications and a lower rate of approvals by the Labor Department; both of those factors, in turn, reflect the conditions in the American economy.

Labor certifications are issued for would-be immigrants, without qualifications as either relatives or refugees, who can make a good case for their usefulness in the U.S. labor market. The Labor Department must be satisfied that the immigrant has needed skills and will work at wages which will not depress those of residents.

If a potential Eastern Hemisphere immigrant can secure a certification, he can enter (along with his family) in either the third, the sixth, or the nonpreference category, depending on his status (or lack of it) as a professional or skilled worker and the availability of visa numbers. If an immigrant is from the Western Hemisphere, he and his family will enter under the 120,000 limitation.

In general, the labor certification program is not a very useful part of the immigrant screening process.^{7/} Although it has a real or potential ability to protect labor standards in a micro labor market (i.e., the labor market in a particular industry in a particular community), it has no impact on the total number of workers coming to the Nation as immigrants and only the most indirect, and sometimes unpredictable, impact on the skill mix of the arriving workers. As appendix table 2 shows, only a small minority of immigrants are screened through the labor certification process; the percentage of permanent resident aliens so screened in 1972 was 11.7 percent. Much of the time labor certification is simply legitimating the presence of alien workers who have arrived in this country as nonimmigrants and are working despite provisions in their visas which restrict employment. Otherwise, it has no impact on the large numbers of illegal entrants, students, and tourists working in violation of their visas, plus the exchange visitors, border crossers, and others who are active in the labor market and not covered by labor certification procedures.

^{7/} See North, op. cit., p. 172.

The restrictions on foreign students' labor market activities are particularly interesting. Although students permitted to work are not supposed to work for more than 20 hours a week off campus during the school year, no visible effort is made to enforce this rule. Further, the campus foreign student adviser decides whether a foreign student is allowed to work off campus at all without regard to labor market conditions.

Although this study is directed to the activities of immigrants in the U.S. labor market, a word is needed about the role of non-immigrants in the labor market. (A nonimmigrant is, in the eyes of the Immigration Service, any alien who is not an immigrant.) This group includes the previously mentioned students, tourists, exchange visitors, diplomats, and people in a variety of other categories--some of whom may work legally, many of whom cannot work legally (but work anyway).

Before World War I, when immigrants were arriving at the rate of about 1 million annually, the nonimmigrants were relatively scarce, as these figures from the 1910 INS Annual Report indicate:

<u>Immigrants</u>	<u>Nonimmigrants</u>
Arriving--1,041,570 .	156,467
Leaving--- <u>202,436</u>	<u>177,982</u>
Net----- 839,134	-21,515

Thus there not only was substantially more movement of immigrants than of nonimmigrants at the time, but the immigrants (understandably) were more likely to stay. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, unfortunately, no longer keeps records on the departures of aliens.

In contrast, the 1972 INS Annual Report recorded 5,171,460 non-immigrants and 384,685 immigrants; the substantial flow of nonimmigrants not only reflects the ease of modern travel but also has important labor market implications.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants can be distinguished from the balance of the U.S. population not only by place of birth and differential linguistic skills but also by a series of demographic measures. Immigrants are more likely to be female (in recent years), to participate in the labor market and to be young and less likely to be married than Americans generally. Further, they are distributed around the country in a different pattern from the bulk of the population, with disproportionate numbers concentrated in urban areas and in a handful of States.

These generalizations (except for the current predominance of women) are not new ones. They have been well known since the publication of the massive, well-documented, if ethnocentric, Dillingham Commission Report in 1911. ^{1/}

What is not generally known, however, is that the differences between immigrants, on one hand, and the general U.S. population, on the other, have been shrinking over the years.

A series of standard demographic and labor market indices was used to compare the 1970 cohort of immigrants with the general American population, as reflected by the 1970 census; similar comparisons were made of the earlier immigrants with the general American population at the time. Immigrants, although still differing from the rest of the population in national origin, are now closer to the American norm when one considers age, sex ratio, marital status, geographic distribution among the States, labor force participation, and occupational distribution. Immigrants, in short, are not as different as they used to be.

This chapter presents the demographic characteristics and labor force participation of the immigrants; the next, their occupational characteristics.

^{1/} Reports of the Immigration Commission (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911). The Commission, which was headed by Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont, produced a massive report; it was said to have been the most comprehensive socioeconomic research effort ever mounted by the Government up to that time (except for the censuses). The 50-volume report dealt largely with the impact of immigrants on the labor market. The Commission members were as conservative as the staff was diligent, and the report's conclusions helped set the stage for the adoption of the national origin quota system in the 1920's.

Sex, Age, Marital Status

The impact of a group of newly arrived immigrants on the labor market will depend not only on the skills that they bring with them but also on their sex, age, and marital status. Women, particularly married women in the childbearing years, are less likely to participate in the labor force than are men. Hence, an examination of these demographic characteristics is useful.

Comparing the 373,326 permanent resident aliens admitted to the United States in 1970 (a group designated as the 1970 cohort) with the 203,211,926 people counted by the Census Bureau in April 1970 shows a slightly lower percentage of men among the immigrants than among the population at large. The Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that 47.4 percent of the year's immigrants were men, while the Census Bureau found that 48.7 percent of the people were men.

In earlier years, however, immigration cohorts were heavily dominated by men. In 1824, for instance, the cohort was 80.1 percent male, ^{2/} while the census of 1820 had reported a population which was 50.8 percent male.

The percentage of male immigrants started to fall after 1910. During the depression and World War II, the proportion of men was particularly low, dipping to 25.1 percent in 1946. After the war, the ratio of men rose until it closely resembled the ratio for the U.S. population as a whole. ^{3/}

The sex ratio of various subgroups within the 1970 cohort of immigrants shows a strong relationship to specific provisions of the immigration law. For analytical purposes, the sample of 5,000 immigrants of various categories was divided into seven basic groupings (see appendix table 3).

The first four categories deal with people admitted under the numerical limitations for the Eastern Hemisphere. The next two categories are Western Hemisphere immigrants, also admitted under the numerical limits. The last category is immediate relatives, admitted from both hemispheres outside the numerical ceilings. In four of the five relative categories women predominate, while in both of the worker categories, men are more numerous.

^{2/} Harry Jones, Migration and Business Cycles (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 39.

^{3/} Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Reports (Washington: various years), table 10A and predecessor tables.

As will be shown in connection with a number of variables, congressional decisions on the size and rankings of the immigration categories have a pronounced influence on immigrant characteristics, such as age, skill levels, national origin, labor force participation, and in this instance, sex. This does not suggest intent on the part of the Congress. But changes in the immigration law do create changes in the immigrant mix.

It should not be surprising that young adults make up a high proportion of any migratory population, moving across the sea or across State lines. It is during the early working years that people tend to be the most mobile.

The age groupings of the 1970 cohort of immigrants fall into this general pattern, with the 25- to 34-year age group being twice as large as one would expect from an examination of the age distribution pattern of the general U.S. population at the time of the 1970 census (see appendix table 4). But as in the case of the sex ratio, the age difference between immigrants and the general population is less pronounced than it was in earlier years.

A comparison of the age groupings of immigrants in 1910 with those in 1970 is instructive and is shown in appendix table 5. The statistics indicate that the present immigrants are spread much more across a broad range of ages than those of 60 years earlier, who were bunched in the young adult category.

As appendix table 6 shows, there has been a movement away from the largely unmarried cohorts of immigrants who arrived earlier in the century toward a more typical marital status distribution.

The marital status distribution, like the sex ratio, varies with the immigration classification used to permit entrance into the Nation. As might be expected, workers' categories generally have fewer married immigrants than relatives' classifications. Further, there is a pronounced relationship between marital status and labor force participation, with marriage lifting male participation somewhat and reducing female participation sharply, as discussed later in the chapter.

National Origins

Different people have been attracted to the United States at different times. Since 1882, when the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, the American immigration laws have played a major role in encouraging

some groups to come to the United States and discouraging others from coming. These two factors have interacted with each other over the years to create a kaleidoscopic pattern of foreign nationals arriving in the United States.

The question of national origin, per se, has no place in this report. The legislative history of the 1965 Immigration Act Amendments makes it clear that Congress has decided, and rightfully so, that race and national origin should not be the determining factors in the Nation's admissions policies.

Unfortunately, however, the immigration law continues, indirectly, to facilitate the immigration of certain people and obstruct that of others. Two examples, which are fairly typical of the experience since 1965, can be cited from the admissions during 1970.

The fifth preference category for Eastern Hemisphere immigrants (brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, their spouses and children) tends to facilitate immigration from Italy, Greece, and Portugal, as appendix table 7 shows. A majority of the immigrants from these three nations admitted under the numerical limitation came in through this single provision in the immigration law; further, fifth preference admissions for nationals of these countries tend to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times as high, proportionately, as those of other countries.

Therefore, no matter what the intention of Congress may have been, the fifth preference tends to increase immigration from these countries. A similar, and much more dramatic, case can be made for the third preference (professionals, their spouses, and their children) and immigration from the Philippines. The Philippines drew 11,154, or 61.9 percent, of the 17,991 third preference admissions in 1970. Under other numerical limitation provisions of the act, the Philippines secured admission for 12,197 people, or 7.9 percent of the 154,555 Eastern Hemisphere residents admitted through provisions other than the third preference.

Since there appears to be a relationship between the provisions of the immigration act and national origin, it is pertinent to ask if there is any difference in the occupational mix along national origin lines. The answer is "yes"

Of the 11 broad occupational groups recognized by the Immigration Service, the national origin distribution is noteworthy in 8. The 1970 cohort and the occupation stated by the would-be immigrant at the time of visa application show:

Professionals--Of the 46,151, a majority are from Asia, with the largest single group from the Philippines.

Farmers--This relatively small group numbers 3,839, with a majority from Italy, Greece, and the Philippines, in that order.

Craftsmen--The total of 28,192 includes heavy representation from Southern Europe and the nations around the Caribbean.

Operatives--The 18,430 are generally from the same group of nations as the craftsmen.

Service workers (nonhousehold)--This group of 9,272 includes many from China, Greece, Cuba, and Italy.

Household service workers--This group of 10,479 tend to be from Jamaica, Mexico, and Portugal.

Nonfarm laborers--A majority of this group, numbering 14,148, are from Mexico and Italy.

Farm laborers--More than half of this group of 4,332 are from Mexico, the Philippines, Portugal, and Italy.

Geographic Distribution

Immigrants are not scattered evenly around the country; they are concentrated in a handful of States, which tend to be on the Nation's seacoasts. They tend to settle in urban areas; and they avoid the South (except Florida and Texas).

As with the other variables discussed (sex ratio, age, and marital status), the difference between the general distribution of the population and the distribution of the immigrant population among the States is becoming less marked.

One way of looking at this phenomenon is to think of the broad sweep of American geography. During the first decade of this century, most of the immigrants were concentrated in the upper right-hand corner of the U.S. map, in the area north of the Ohio and the Potomac, and east of the Mississippi. At the turn of the century, the first seven States in number of immigrants were in this part of the country; now the second, third, and sixth States are located outside this quarter of the Nation. (California, Florida, and Texas, respectively.)

Perhaps a better statistical indicator is the ratio of immigrants to total population. Some States absorb many more immigrants than others; Hawaii, for instance, now plays host to 29 times as many immigrants, proportionately, as Mississippi does.

If all States received immigrants in direct proportion to their population, each State would have an "immigrant preference rate" of 1.0; but of course they do not do so. In the cited instance, Mississippi accepted 10 percent of the immigrants that it would be allocated on average, while Hawaii received 289 percent of its share; thus Mississippi's immigrant preference rate is .10 and Hawaii's is 2.89. (These figures are for the immigrants arriving during the period 1961 - 70.)

Applying the same procedure to the immigrant data for 1899 - 1910 in comparison with the 1910 census gives a considerably larger disparity between the jurisdictions with the highest and the lowest immigrant preference rates. Hawaii was high with a rating of 4.76, and North Carolina was low with .008; thus Hawaii was absorbing during those years--her first 12 as part of the United States--595 times as many immigrants proportionately as was North Carolina (see appendix table 8).

Although the geographical distribution of immigrants among the States is becoming more like the general American pattern, the same cannot be said about the immigrants' preference for urban life. Statistics on the subject have been recorded only in recent years, but they show that immigrants consistently have twice as strong a preference for the major cities of the Nation as the balance of the population. Appendix table 9 shows the intended place of residence of incoming immigrants, data derived from the visa application.

Labor Force Participation

Conventional wisdom holds that immigrants are hard-working people; they are more often than not making a genuine effort to succeed in a strange land. This research tended to substantiate this widely held belief, but a substantial methodological barrier limited the ability to measure the extent of both labor force participation and unemployment among immigrants.

Unfortunately, no immigrant-related statistics can compare with the Current Population Survey (CPS), which measures both labor force participation and unemployment rates for Americans generally. In the course of the CPS, interviewers visit some 45,000 households and ask a series of a dozen or more questions, which can be used to sort out those in the labor force from those not participating and, further, to count the employed and the unemployed.

No such sophisticated questions are asked of immigrants (unless they happen to be covered by the CPS). When would-be immigrants complete their visa application forms, they have an opportunity to fill in a blank designated "occupation." What the immigrant writes in this blank is called his "stated occupation," and historically has been the source of all information on his occupation and labor market participation. The general assumption has been that immigrants stating a paid occupation are in the labor force, and those giving none (identifying themselves as students, housewives, or retired) are not in the labor force. Interviews of a small sample of 1970 immigrants tended to substantiate this assumption; there was a high correlation between stating an occupation on the form and telling the interviewer that the immigrant was, in fact, in the labor force.

Hence the phrase "labor force participation rate," as used in this monograph, refers to American workers generally and the somewhat contrived "stated occupation rate" to labor market activities of immigrants. The latter is a close approximation of the former, but the different data base requires a different term.

A further problem relating to the question of employment and unemployment revolves around the wording of the I-53 Alien Address Report (see p.57). Box 11 states, "My present or most recent employer in the United States is:" thereby effectively eliminating any way of telling whether the worker is currently employed or unemployed or even in or out of the labor force. Box 12 says, "Occupation," as does the visa application, which means that the responses can be viewed as comparable but, again, not as helpful as possible.

Existing governmental statistics suggest that the immigrants' stated occupation rate is now almost precisely equal to the labor force participation rate of the balance of the population: the rate for adult immigrants arriving in the 1960's was 59.3 percent, while that of the general populace in 1970 was 59.0 percent. In the

first decade in the century, however, the immigrants stated occupation rate was a thunderous 83.2 percent, while labor force participation of the adults of the Nation as a whole was 54.0 percent. ^{4/}

Thus while the immigrant stated occupation rate dropped by 24 percentage points, the labor force participation rate of the whole population increased by 5 points, bringing the two sets of statistics into harmony. Or so it appears.

But when working-age immigrants filed registration cards 2 years after their arrival, they reported stated occupation rates considerably higher than their visa applications had shown. In fact, for every four immigrants stating an occupation on their visa applications, five stated one 2 years later. The bulk of those who moved into the labor force after arrival were women who had identified themselves as housewives on their visa applications; another substantial number had been students when they applied.

Since previous studies accepted the visa application occupation statements as a measure of labor force participation, the contributions made by immigrant workers, as well as their impact on the labor market, appear to have been understated by as much as 20 percent in recent years.

The differing stated occupation rates at entry (visa information) and at registration show a moderate increase for men, and a drastic one for women. (See appendix table 10.)

All of the movement between entry and January 1972 was not into the labor force. Of 2,869 workers who stated occupations at entry, 21 men and 153 women dropped out of the labor force between entry and registration. This group of 174, however, was outnumbered almost 5 to 1 by 827 people who did not state an occupation on their visa applications but did so 2 years later. Men with stated occupations increased by 140, from 1,835 to 1,975, while women with stated occupations increased by 513, from 1,034 to 1,547. Thus, out of a group of 4,533 immigrants (for whom these data were available), there was a net gain of 653 with stated occupations during the first 2 years of their stay in this country.

^{4/} Labor force participation and stated occupation rates are for persons aged 14 and over in the first period and for those 16 and over in the later period. Immigrant rates are averages of those admitted during the decade; the rates for the populace as a whole are drawn from census data--for 1970 from the census of that year and for 1910 from an average of the 1900 and 1920 data. The sources of the data for immigrants are the INS Annual Report, 1970, table 10A, and Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960), Series C-125 and C-133-137, and calculations made therefrom; and for the populace as a whole, Statistical Abstract of the United States, (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1972), table 340, and Historical Statistics, Series D-1-3.

The net addition of 653 to the labor force 2 years later is an increase of 22.8 percent. To estimate its impact, one could multiply 157,189 (the number of immigrants with stated occupations in the 1970 cohort) by 22.8 percent and find that the U.S. admitted not 157,189 but 157,189 plus 35,839 persons with stated occupations, a total of 193,028, during fiscal 1970. Since there were 373,326 immigrants in 1970, this indicates that a majority--51.7 percent--of the immigrant cohort has a stated occupation. ^{5/}

The survey shows that stated occupation rates varied by immigration classification and marital status, as well as by sex, with sex being the most significant of the variables.

When stated occupation rates were tabulated by immigration classifications (using the seven groupings previously described) and by sex, the rates varied much less for men than for women. Among the men, the rates varied from 90.2 percent for relatives of Eastern Hemisphere relatives to 100.0 percent for Western Hemisphere workers. Among the women, the variance was considerably more drastic, running from a low of 46.2 percent for the U.S. relatives category (those immediate relatives admitted outside the numerical limits) to a high of 96.4 percent for Western Hemisphere workers (women with labor certifications).

Another cross-tabulation--involving sex, marital status, and age--separated men from women; single people from those who were either married or in the "other" category (widowed, divorced or separated); and people between 20 and 24, between 25 and 44, and over 45. Again, male rates varied less than female rates. Among male immigrants, the least likely to be in the labor force were young (20-to-24-year-old), single men, whose stated occupation rate was 80.8 percent; for most groupings of male immigrants over 25, the rates approached, and in some cases reached, 100 percent.

The rates for female immigrants varied more widely. Rates were low, between 50 percent and 60 percent, for married immigrant women of all three age groupings. The rates for immigrant women generally were highest during the prime working years of 25 to 44. Indeed, immigrant women between the ages of 25 and 44 who were in either the single or the "other" category had stated occupation rates of around 95 percent.

^{5/} Applying this percentage to the 1969 through 1972 cohorts of immigrants and then averaging the results produces the previously cited total of 192,000 newly arriving immigrant workers.

Perhaps of greater interest are comparisons of immigrant workers (divided into the categories just described) and resident U.S. workers, similarly divided. In virtually every comparison, the immigrant group had a stated occupation rate higher than the labor force participation rate of the comparable resident population. For example, 42.7 percent of the married resident women between the ages of 25 and 44 were labor force participants, while 54.8 percent of the married immigrant women of the same ages had stated occupations. Generally, in all age and marital status categories, immigrant women were more likely to indicate participation in the labor market than were resident women, while immigrant men were only slightly more likely to indicate participation than were resident men. ^{6/}

Most of the immigrants who had no stated occupation on arrival and who were in the labor market 2 years later were women, as noted earlier. About 2 out of 5 were Western Hemisphere relatives, and 1 out of 3 was working in an operative job (see appendix tables 11 and 12).

Those with newly stated occupations tended to be more highly concentrated in the lower range of skills than was the immigrant cohort as a whole. For both men and women, there were higher percentages of operatives, laborers, service and clerical workers, and farm laborers among the new participants than among those with a stated occupation at entry, while there were substantially lower percentages in the professional category.

^{6/} Immigrant data are from the TransCentury survey, while those for the population as a whole are derived from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1972, table 343, and relate to the U.S. population in 1970.

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

What kinds of work do immigrants perform?

The answer is "just about everything;" some handle assignments which require post-Ph.D. training; some do essentially mindless work.

Once the great bulk of immigrants were laborers or peasants, with only a sprinkling of educated people among them.

The pendulum has now swung in the other direction; immigrants now have a higher percentage of professionally trained people than the U.S. population at large.

For background, the occupational breakdown of arriving immigrants for the cohorts of 1910, 1930, 1950, 1960, and 1970, as well as comparable data on the U.S. population, are given in appendix table 13. The decline in the proportions of unskilled immigrant workers and the rise in the percentages of professionals can be seen in the table.

Not only are immigrants much more likely to be professionals and less likely to be farmworkers or laborers, but they are also closer to the American norm in occupation group distribution today than they were in 1910. One might argue that, although the pattern is different than it was before, it is not approaching the occupational mix of the American population because of the exceptionally high incidence of both professional workers and craftsmen and foremen. However, as is shown later, the percentage of professionals and craftsmen among working immigrants drops after their first 2 years in America.

As indicated earlier, the admission provisions of the immigration law are an important influence on the sex and marital status ratios and the stated occupation rates of immigrants. They are equally significant in terms of their occupation, as appendix table 14 indicates.

Perhaps the most dramatic statistic is the percentage of Eastern Hemisphere workers who are professionals at entry--69.2 percent. No percentage in the other 90 cells in the table comes within 19 points of this figure.

Western Hemisphere workers, however, account for the largest proportions of household service workers, operatives, and craftsmen, with 45.0 percent being in the last-named category at entry.

Again, any adjustment in the law which expands or contracts the numbers allowed to enter in these categories would affect the occupational mix of the arriving cohorts.

The previous chapter pointed out that specific nations tend to send immigrants with certain occupations. The 1970 sample can also be viewed in terms of occupation group and region of origin, as in appendix table 15.

The data presented thus far in this chapter have related to the immigrant's occupation at the time he or she filed the visa application. What happens when the immigrant encounters the American labor market?

In appendix table 16--the most complicated, and probably the most revealing, cross-tabulation in this report--the occupation group at entry is compared with the occupation group 2 years later. (To repeat, the occupation group at entry is based on visa application information, and the more recent data are derived from the alien registration card filed in January 1972.)

Table 16 should be read both vertically and horizontally. Taking the professional and technical category first and reading vertically from the bottom, one finds that 671 immigrants in the sample identified themselves as professionals at entry; in January 1972, as shown in the upper left cell, 437 of these 671 remained in professional or technical positions. The 234 former professionals then doing something else are listed in the other entries in the left column of the table.

Horizontal reading of the top set of cells, which deals with those who were in the professional category at registration, shows that 531 were in this occupational class at that time. Of this number, 437 had been in this category at entry; the balance of 94 had moved into it since their arrival. This number includes, reading from left to right, nine who had been managers previously, two who had worked in sales, and so on. The percentages shown indicate the proportions of those working in an occupation group in January 1972 who were in the various entry occupation groups. For example, 82.3 in the upper left corner is the percentage of those working as professionals who were in this status when they entered. (It does not reflect the percentage of those who entered as professionals who were still professionals.) Reading on across, one finds that none of the January 1972 professionals were farmers at entry, 1.7 percent were managers, 0.4 percent sales workers, etc.

Another way to read this table is diagonally, which shows where the occupation group intersects itself. Thus of those who were professionals in January 1972, 82.3 percent were in this category at entry; none of the three farmers were farmers at entry; 27.9 percent of the managers in 1972 were managers at entry, and so on.

The diagonal notations show a great deal of movement; outside the categories of professionals, craftsmen, students, household servants, and housewives, most people who were in a given occupational class in January 1972 had been doing something different at entry.

A subsidiary tabulation, appendix table 17, shows the movements in and out of the occupation groups; stated at entry.

Professionals, managers, and craftsmen can be viewed as the top of the occupational ladder; these groups combined fell from 1,329 to 1,068 in 2 years, a drop of about 20 percent. Farm laborers, nonfarm laborers, and household workers are the bottom of the economic ladder; this grouping increased from 402 at entry to 488 at registration, or about 21 percent.

These data--with the single major exception of the figures on household workers--suggest that, to the extent that the net occupation group change in the first 2 years after arrival has a direction, it is downward.

Table 16, read vertically down the occupational class rows, shows what happened to those who were in 1972 no longer doing what they did at entry.

Of the 234 professionals who left their category, the largest groups became clerical workers (86), operatives (34), and housewives (32). Large numbers of entering students, craftsmen, and housewives also changed occupation groups. Students tended to become operatives (58), clerical workers (55), or laborers (33); 18 of the 240 who ceased calling themselves students became professionals. Craftsmen became operatives (103), laborers (64), or nonhousehold service workers (60). Of the 478 housewives entering the labor force, more than a third, 169, became operatives, while other large groups included clerical workers (92) and non-household service workers (70).

In addition to shifts between occupation groups, some occupational changes also occur within occupation groups. As shown in table 17, a slight majority of immigrants moved across occupational group lines. As one might expect, an even larger group changed occupations when changes within groups are counted. (The data provided no way to measure job changes.) In fact, of those who had stated occupations upon entry, 65.6 percent of the men and, coincidentally, 65.6 percent of the women changed occupations between the time they filed their visa application and the time they registered with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1972.

Although sex had no bearing on occupational change, occupation group had a substantial bearing. Roughly half of the professional category stayed in the same specific occupation; but in the other occupation groups, from two-thirds to three-quarters of the immigrants changed occupations between arrival in this country and January 1972.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SPECIFIC IMMIGRANT GROUPS

The American immigration policy could be compared to the Great Wall of China. In general, both the wall and the policy (for the last 50 years) have said "No" to those on the outside who wanted to enter; given this, it makes sense to look at the gates in the wall.

The wall has been opened in specific places to allow certain kinds of people to enter; those so chosen are largely relatives, plus some workers and some refugees. This chapter examines three specific subgroups of immigrants: those with labor certifications, those in the fifth preference, and those who adjust their status from that of nonimmigrant to immigrant. It also looks at two of the dualities of the immigration process, that of men and women and that of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres.

The writer is mindful of the power of Congress to open a gate wider or close it completely. Any major rewriting of the immigration law will deal with choices among the preferences, between the hemispheres, and rather more indirectly, between the two sexes. The Administration, for instance, has proposed that all married brothers and sisters be barred from fifth preference.

Labor Certification Beneficiaries

Immigrants arriving with labor certifications obviously are almost certain to be labor market participants. Hence, they tend to be young adults and are less likely to be married and more likely to be men than the balance of the immigrant cohort. In these qualities, the labor certification holders of today are throwbacks to the immigrants of old, who tended, disproportionately, to be single, male workers.

The survey showed that, while 75.6 percent of immigrants without labor certifications were married, only 56.2 percent of those certified were married. Similarly, while 25.8 percent of the other immigrants were in their thirties, fully 45.1 percent of the labor certification holders were of this age. About 25 percent of both groups were over 40 years of age, but fewer labor certification beneficiaries than other immigrants were in their twenties.

The incidence of labor certifications was much greater among men (35.3 percent) than it was among women (17.0 percent).

One would expect that the labor force participation of labor certification beneficiaries would be at or near 100 percent at entry; the survey reported a rate of 97.5 percent.

The labor certification process facilitates immigration from some nations, and discourages it from others. Some nations accounted for a higher percentage of immigrants with labor certification than of other (noncertified) immigrants. For instance, the Philippines accounted for 22.1 percent of the labor certification beneficiaries among those surveyed but only 10.6 percent of other immigrants; hence it can be argued that the labor certification program facilitates immigration from that nation. An example of the other extreme is Italy, which accounted for only 0.4 percent of the labor certification beneficiaries but 12.9 percent of other immigrants. Of the major immigrant-supplying nations, Colombia, Jamaica, Haiti, and Trinidad fell into the Philippines' category, while Greece, China, and Mexico had the same pattern as Italy.

Labor certification holders are much more likely to hold professional jobs, both at entry and at registration, than are other immigrants, the survey showed (see appendix table 18). At entry more than two-thirds of the certification beneficiaries but 16.4 percent of other immigrants were in two occupation groups, professional workers and craftsmen.

As with other immigrants, the beneficiaries tend to be drawn toward the middle-level occupation groups after they arrive: household workers tend to leave the kind of job for which they were certified, and so do professionals. The number of craftsmen drops sharply. The percentage of operatives, service workers, and clerical workers, however, increases between entry and registration. The movement across occupation group lines, then, is basically downward.

One of the principal concerns of critics of the labor certification program is that, although the program is designed to meet certain skill shortages, it has no way to prevent newly admitted workers from changing occupations shortly after arriving. (The alternative--to admit immigrants with labor certifications provided they stay in a specified job or occupation for a stipulated time--is criticized as smacking of "indentured servitude," even though the immigration system works in precisely this way with temporary foreign workers.)

This survey supports the concern of these critics and indicates a substantial occupational movement among labor certification beneficiaries in their first 2 years in this country. (The research design produced information on the immigrants' occupations but not their jobs; presumably, a number of immigrants who stayed in the same occupation changed jobs within that occupation.)

Dealing only with immigrants who stated an occupation at entry, the study found substantial changes in occupation between the times of filing visa applications and alien registration cards, as shown in appendix table 19.

Not only did a majority of the labor certification beneficiaries change their occupations during the 2-year period, but a number who stayed in the same occupation moved across county lines, presumably (if not necessarily) to a new job with a new employer. Of the 475 beneficiaries who stayed in their occupations and for whom geographical mobility is known, 162 moved across county lines between arrival and registration. This means that, out of a total of 1,119 labor certification beneficiaries, only 313 were known to be in the same occupation in the same county 2 years later.

Interviews with some of the 1970 cohort of immigrants gave some clues as to why some beneficiaries stay in their jobs and why others do not. Generally, workers were more likely to stay in their new jobs if they were certified to positions that were as good as, or better than, the jobs they left than if they came to less skilled positions than they formerly held. Furthermore, the latter group tended to move out of these lower skilled jobs as soon as they could.

For instance:

A Canadian fur designer came to Chicago regarding a position in his field, responding to an advertisement. He got the job, secured the certification, and was still working for the Chicago firm when we talked with him.

An English systems analyst was transferred from the London office of a major computer manufacturer to its Boston office; he stayed with the firm.

A young French woman, who sells expensive French shoes in a Fifth Avenue store owned by a French firm, transferred from the firm's Paris office; she stayed with the store, where she said she was making \$15,000 a year.

On the other hand, interviewers reported these examples:

A Chinese physician was certified for a job as a medical assistant in a clinic in Boston's Chinatown. At the time, he could not work in the United States as a physician. Within a year, he had his license to practice medicine and is currently a resident at a nearby hospital.

A young Barbadian woman, who had worked as a seamstress and as a nurse's aide, was certified as a domestic. She worked in that role for a while, reporting 60-hour work-weeks and a monthly wage of \$320.. She now works as a nurse's aide, being paid \$440 a month for 40-hour weeks.

Fifth Preference Beneficiaries

In recent years fifth preference immigration (brothers and sisters of citizens, their spouses and children) has dropped from the peaks of 55,701 in 1969, and 52,279 in 1970 to 41,860 in 1971 and 41,852 in 1972.

Fifth preference immigrants, in very general terms, are less different from the main body of immigrants than labor certification beneficiaries; in comparison with other immigrants, they are about as likely to be married, a little older, a little more likely to be male, and a little more likely to be in the labor force.

The question of marital status is particularly relevant to the Administration's efforts to terminate the admission of married fifth preference beneficiaries (and therefore their spouses and children). The survey showed that such legislation would decimate the category: 70.2 percent of the working-age fifth preference immigrant in 1970 were married. Furthermore, Immigration and Naturalization Service data ^{1/} on primary and secondary fifth preference beneficiaries for 1966 to 1969 show that 57.9 percent were spouses and children of the primary beneficiaries. The proposed law would presumably bar all of them if the concept is to eliminate ever-married brothers and sisters; it would admit a few--the children of some widowed or divorced brothers and sisters--if the concept is currently married. Of the 41,852 fifth preference immigrants in 1972, approximately 24,200 were spouses and children. Under the assumption that most, but not all, of the 17,600 or so prime beneficiaries were of working age, it is estimated that roughly half would be married; thus another group of 8,800 or so would be eliminated, leaving a balance of approximately the same number. Unless other variables were also changed, the elimination of married brothers and sisters would tend to cut in half immigration from Italy, Greece, and Portugal (see appendix table 7).

In age, 39.1 percent of the fifth preference immigrants in the survey sample were under 35, while 61.4 percent of the others were in that category.

^{1/} Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report, (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, 1969) table 4.

Not only are fifth preference immigrants older, they are also more likely to be men than either all immigrants or the population generally. In the sample, 52.8 percent were men, compared with 42.7 percent of the others.

Given the higher percentage of men in the group, a higher labor force participation rate might be anticipated, and the rate is, in fact, several percentage points higher.

At entry fifth preference immigrants are more likely to be farmers, farmworkers, managers, and laborers than other immigrants and less likely to be professionals and students.

Looking at only the fifth preference workers and their occupation group mobility between filing the visa and registration in January 1972, one sees substantial movement, but little of it upward. The number of both professionals and managers dropped sharply during this interval, and the number of craftsmen also declined. On the other hand, there were more laborers, nonhousehold service workers, and operatives at registration than at entry.

Adjustees

Most immigrants secure visas overseas before they come to the United States and arrive as immigrants. A growing minority, however, have been arriving as nonimmigrants and at some subsequent date converting, or adjusting, to immigrant status.

A nonimmigrant, in the eyes of the Government, is an alien legally in the United States in a role other than that of immigrant. Tourists, students, exchange visitors, foreign businessmen, and diplomats are all nonimmigrants. Under the right set of circumstances, a nonimmigrant from the Eastern Hemisphere can, without leaving the Nation, adjust to immigrant status. (At this writing a nonimmigrant from the Western Hemisphere cannot adjust his status without leaving the United States.)

The number of adjustees, to use the Immigration and Naturalization Service term, has been rising and is the subject of growing concern to the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Judiciary Committee. The movement upwards is shown in appendix table 20.

The House Subcommittee expressed concern because it "reached the conclusion that the unlawful employment of nonresident aliens in the United States has had an unfavorable effect on the domestic job market." ^{2/}

^{2/} Subcommittee statement quoted in "Interpreter Releases," American Council for Nationalities Service, New York, Aug. 3, 1972.

Nonresident aliens include both nonimmigrants, some of whom may adjust their status, and illegal entrants, who may not. The survey showed that more than four-fifths of the adjustees in the sample had stated occupations; and many of these, one can safely assume, were working contrary to their immigration papers at the time of adjustment. The adjustment process, in other words, legalizes the presence of a substantial number of previously illegal workers. ^{3/}

Adjustees in the sample were more likely to be men and more likely to be in the labor market than other immigrants generally: 51.2 percent of the adjustees, compared with 45.2 percent of the balance of the immigrants, were men. The labor force participation rate of the adjustees was 81.5 percent, at registration, as opposed to 77.7 percent for the rest of the immigrants.

The occupational distribution differed substantially between the adjustees and the others; adjustees were more than twice as likely as other immigrants to be professionals on registration. The percentages (among all immigrants in the sample) were 29.7 percent for adjustees and 13.0 percent for others. Of the 390 adjustees whose occupation at registration is known, none was either a servant or a farmer, and only one was a farmworker. The adjustees were much less likely to be laborers (4.6 versus 9.3 percent) and less likely to be operatives (9.0 percent versus 11.1 percent) than the rest of the immigrants.

The Hemispheres

When the Dillingham Commission was studying immigration, it concentrated its attention on immigration from the Old World and barely mentioned immigration from this hemisphere.

In recent years, however, immigration from this half of the world has become increasingly more important. In 1970, 40.5 percent of the immigrants were natives of the Americas. ^{4/}

Western Hemisphere immigrants tend to be younger than those from the other hemisphere. A relatively simple measure is the percentage under the age of 30; 60.9 percent of the Eastern Hemisphere immigrants met this description in 1970, as opposed to 67.5 percent of those from this hemisphere. ^{5/}

^{3/} See appendix table 2; also David S. North, Alien Workers, A Study of the Labor Certification Program (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971), pp. 86-96.

^{4/} This and other figures in this section are based on the immigrants' place of birth rather than where they last resided or the nation of citizenship, since the statutory allocation between the hemispheres is by place of birth.

^{5/} INS Annual Report, 1970, table 9.

Given the lower age for Western Hemisphere immigrants, one might presume that fewer of them would be married and that is correct. The survey showed that 72.8 percent of the Eastern Hemisphere immigrants were married, compared with 69.4 percent of those from the Western half.

As for stated occupations at entry, the proportion was slightly higher for immigrants from the East than from the West (64.4 percent compared with 62.4 percent).

The statistics for occupation group are substantially different. At both entry and registration, Eastern Hemisphere immigrants were three times as likely as Western Hemisphere ones to state that they had professional or technical skills. On the other hand, those from the East were less likely to be laborers, operatives, or household service workers at registration than were Western Hemisphere immigrants.

In general, the Eastern Hemisphere group tends to be more affluent (fewer wives work, more students stay in school), more likely to be in a white-collar occupation (with more clerical workers and sales workers, as well as professionals), and hence less likely to be doing blue-collar work than the cohort from this hemisphere.

Men and Women

As indicated earlier, immigrant women are more likely to be married, less likely to be labor force participants, and a few years younger than immigrant men.

Similarly, there is more occupation group mobility between entry and registration among the women than among the men in the sample, reflecting the movement of housewives and students into the labor force. In every major occupation group except professional and household service, the number and percentage of women increased between entry and registration (see appendix table 21). More than half of the household service workers (67 out of 127) left their occupational grouping, while a net of 49 of the 306 professionals, similarly, left that grouping. Thus, the women move away from housework, either for their own families or others; away from studies; and away from the professions and into a broad range of clerical, nondomestic service, and factory jobs.

Among men, there is rather less occupation group mobility. There are slight decreases in the percentages of professionals and managers and sharper drops among the craftsmen and foremen and the students. These changes are balanced primarily by increases in the operative and nondomestic service categories.

For sharper comparisons of the kinds of jobs held by men and women, both among immigrants and the general population, appendix table 22 shows occupation groups among labor force participants (thus eliminating housewives, students, and retired people). At registration, after a number of immigrants had dropped out of the professions, a higher percentage of both men and women in the 1970 sample were holding professional jobs than was the case among the general population. Further, immigrant men were less likely than all resident men to be managers, sales workers, or farmers and more likely to be laborers, farmworkers or service workers; immigrant women were less likely than all women to be managers, salesworkers, farm laborers, and clerical workers; on the other hand they were more likely to be laborers or operatives.

It appears that immigrant women share with resident American women the same labor market problems--job discrimination, lower wages, and relative lack of promotion opportunities. Further, as stated in other terms earlier, many are new to the job market, while only a small minority of the men had not worked before their arrival in this country.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF IMMIGRANTS TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MARKET

Virtually everything reported up to this point can be buttressed with statistics drawn from some source--from either the Census Bureau or the Immigration Service or from the survey data on 5,000 working-age immigrants in the 1970 cohort. From this point on, however, much of the material is based on observations, conversations with those who are knowledgeable about the experience of immigrants in the labor market, and more than 300 interviews--115 with the 1970 cohort of immigrants and 201 with their employers.

These interviews yielded many useful data on how immigrants secured their jobs in this country, how much they are paid, who they work for (and what their employers think of them), how well they have adjusted to the labor market, the all-important question of language, the extent to which they utilize their training, and their devotion to the work ethic. But the samples are small enough so that any statistics cited can be suggestive only.

Job-Finding Techniques

The techniques used by immigrants to find jobs roughly parallel those of other Americans--although there appears to be relatively little use of public agencies in the process. Both employers and immigrants, interviewed separately, agreed that the most important way that workers found out about jobs, and employers learned about workers, was through the ethnic grapevine. Time and again, it was reported that immigrants found their jobs, particularly their first jobs, through a friend, relative, or other landsman.

But there are interesting variations--related to both occupational class on entry and the passage of time.

Professionals were much more likely than blue-collar workers to find their jobs through more formal channels; most professionals had found their jobs through their own inquiry, by writing or calling the organization that they hoped would employ them. Some responded to advertisements; others were transferred from one job to another by a multinational corporation; one secured a fellowship which led him to the job he now has in this country.

Further, upwardly mobile immigrants who secured their initial job through a friend or relative soon found their way through the labor market and secured subsequent positions in other ways. For example:

He was a refugee from Hungary, about 30, confident, living away from other Hungarians. His brother had obtained a visa for him and then a job as a carwasher with a Volkswagen dealer, where most of the other workers were also Hungarian. He next found a job as a mechanic, with another Volkswagen dealer, and moved from his brother's house to the suburbs. Later, to increase his income, he took an assembler's job in a factory organized by the United Automobile Workers. He got that job, which paid \$5.40 an hour, by responding to a newspaper advertisement and filing an application. His English is good, he is dating a native-born woman who has a Ph. D., and the prospects are that he will not be in the factory long.

Workers who continue to rely on relatives and countrymen to find new jobs tend to stay in less well paid positions, often in manufacturing plants or service establishments.

Wages

Although some immigrants were not willing to say how much money they earned, most were happy to do so. Naturally, there was a wide range--from the \$24,000 a year reported by one of the professionals, down to \$3,072 a year reported by a clerk. Both extremes, incidentally, were reported by men. ^{1/}

The findings may be coincidence or a reflection of attraction of high wage areas, but the interviews suggest that the immigrants were making about as much as or more than the national averages for their occupational classes. Limited data--covering between 6 and 10 immigrants in each of 6 occupation group-sex categories--show earnings above the comparable national average in categories.

The interviews also reveal another sign of success in the labor market; only one of the immigrants in the sample turned out to be unemployed at the time.

^{1/} The interviews were conducted in areas of immigrant concentration, primarily in California, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. No interviews were conducted with immigrants in such poverty pockets as the Lower Rio Grande Valley because that ground was covered in the writer's 1969 report for the Department of Labor, "The Border Crossers, People Who Live in Mexico and Work in the United States," which had been prepared under research contract 81-09-69-08. That study found remarkably low wages being paid to immigrants (defining the commuting permanent resident aliens as such). In one instance, a domestic was being paid 25 cents an hour, and numerous others reported wages of 50 and 75 cents an hour.

Employers

Employers known to employ immigrants in January 1972 were asked about their views of immigrants in the labor force. Some of the employing firms were massive in size; others were mom-and-pop groceries. Some had good personnel records; some had none.

The one theme that ran through the employer interviews was an almost complete lack of derogatory comments about immigrants as workers. The following were typical employer comments:

"Personally, I would like to get some Americans, but they're shiftless. Immigrants are more steady."

(New Jersey truck body manufacturer)

"Immigrants are what the labor market offers. Just work with what's available. They do the work well; therefore no problem."

(New York display manufacturer)

"Polish are more reliable, more industrious, do a better job. Hire them almost as a policy."

(Illinois transformer manufacturer)

"Immigrants are more sincere and more willing to do a day's work."

(New Jersey television parts manufacturer)

Most employers reported that they either did not know about immigrant turnover rates or thought that they would be average. Of those who differentiated, the overwhelming majority said that immigrant turnover rates were lower than those of other workers.

The recruiting technique most often cited by employers was the word-of-mouth information system which the immigrants had described--reported by roughly 40 percent of the employers as the most common way that immigrants learned about jobs in their establishments. Another 20 percent said that newspaper advertisements were the most effective way to reach immigrants; about 9 percent said that they used the U.S. employment service.

Only a handful of employers, including the few multinational corporations mentioned earlier, recruited overseas. They included a large West Coast health maintenance organization, a San Diego shipyard, a college which sometimes recruited professors overseas, and the County of Los Angeles, which (unlike some other local jurisdictions) permits the hiring of aliens for most of its jobs.

Generally, the smaller employers reported the largest percentage of immigrant employees; as the size increased, the proportion of immigrants tended to decrease. Light manufacturing and service establishments were likely to employ immigrants. Of the larger enterprises, those in health care often had sizable groups of immigrant employees.

Contrary to the general (if slimly based) finding that immigrants tended to be paid at or near the American average, some small employers who did not need English-speaking or highly skilled workers employed a high proportion of immigrants and did not pay them very well. As a convenience, these are called ethnic jobs.

In this connection, when asked if they spoke their native language on the job or worked with their countrymen, a large majority of the operatives said "Yes," as did a small majority of those in the lower paid service jobs. Those in better paid service jobs, clerks, and craftsmen generally responded negatively, and only one of the professionals (who works in a New York branch of an Italian bank) said he used his native tongue on the job.

Adjustments to the Labor Market

The earlier observation about the homogenization of immigrants in the labor market--how servants went on to better jobs and how some professionals and craftsmen were apparently forced to accept less skilled positions--were well illustrated in the interviews with immigrants. There were also remarkable evidences of upward occupational mobility--often after the immigrant had been forced temporarily into work which did not fully use his talents and training.

With all this in mind, the researchers decided to a set of occupational patterns based on immigrants' jobs in the old country, their first jobs in this country, and their subsequent positions. The jobs were classified as having high, medium, and low occupational status (without attempting to define it). Carrying these three possibilities through three time periods gives 27 possible variations (see appendix chart 1).

Without attempting to fit the immigrants who were interviewed into the 27 categories, these artificially contrived adjustment patterns can be used in an illustrative manner. Examples drawn from both the sample and other (published) sources show the ways that immigrants have adjusted to the U.S. labor market.

A classic example of a high-high-high pattern would be the late Albert Einstein. A renowned mathematician when forced into exile, he immediately secured a prestigious position in this country and held it until his death.

A current and well-publicized example of the high-high-high pattern would be Egon and Diane von und zu Furstenberg. Prince and Princess von und zu Furstenberg are, according to a cover story in New York, "this week's couple of the year, the newest darlings in what passes for high powered social life in New York. They are a striking European duet with just the right recipe of royalty, money, charm and a dollop of decadence. . . both run talked-about fashion businesses. . ." ^{2/} Both are new arrivals from Europe, both are doing well economically, and both are examples of the pyramid toppers, to use the sociologists' term, or people who move easily from one elite to another.

The high-low-low pattern, on the other hand, reflects the continuing impact of a difficult transition on a person previously holding a highly skilled position who winds up in a low-skilled job.

A 31-year-old mechanical engineer, trained in the Philippines and with textile experience, came to the United States following his wife, who was a nurse. She quickly found a job in her profession, but he was unemployed for 6 months before he went to work as a hospital orderly 2 years ago. When he was interviewed he was still one and despaired of working as an engineer again.

More common was the high-low-medium pattern; the arriving immigrant, who had professional skills in his homeland, could not find work in his profession. Hence he accepted a low-skilled job and then started working up the ladder.

An experienced Philippine school teacher came here in 1970 and was later joined by her husband and children. Her English is fluent, but she could not get a teacher's job. Her first job was as a kitchen helper for Goodwill Industries; then she worked for a large insurance company, first as a clerk B at \$380 a month; a year later she was a clerk C at \$471 a month.

^{2/} Linda Francke, "The Couple That Has Everything. Is Everything Enough?" New York, Feb. 5, 1973, pp. 32-37.

The interviews also revealed a number of medium-low-medium patterns, in which the immigrant had appreciable foreign training, had to work in an unskilled job at first in the United States, and then worked himself back to his former skill level.

A veteran of 6 years with the Colombian Army, where he learned to be an auto mechanic, this 34-year-old immigrant had been working as a mechanic for a Colombian garage. A fellow Colombian found him his first U.S. job, as a dishwasher at \$2 an hour; next he secured a job as a meat packer and finally found a mechanic's job through an ad in a newspaper. He makes about \$4 an hour repairing garbage trucks.

For some, the immigration experience is not a traumatic one occupationally; they are working at roughly their past skill levels and, in most cases, living more comfortably. This pattern could be called medium-medium-medium.

A 43-year-old licensed practical nurse from Canada came to the United States when her husband secured a job here as a caretaker. She immediately found a job in a local hospital as an LPN at \$472 per month, but she did not like the staff and the doctors and looked for another job. On her way to and from the hospital, she passed a nursing home daily; so when she decided to seek other employment, she dropped in at the home. She was hired and is now in charge of the night shift at \$737 a month.

None of the immigrants who were interviewed could legitimately be placed in the low-low-high or low-medium-high categories, but then the sample consisted of people who had been here for only 2 years. The literature is full of examples of people who came to the country poverty stricken (generally young and poor, which helps) and who then scrambled their way to the top.

William S. Knudsen, who emigrated to the United States at the age of 20 from Denmark, where he had been an apprentice in a bicycle factory, is a classic example of the low-low-high pattern. Speaking virtually no English on his arrival, he went to work in the shipyards and in time became president of General Motors and the Nation's war production czar during the early years of World War II.

Obviously, a number of immigrants come from unskilled jobs, take unskilled jobs on their arrival, and continue to work in them for the rest of their lives. This experience reflects the low-low-low pattern.

For years he worked in the Philippines, transplanting rices. Then he joined his brothers in the United States, and one of them secured a job for him as a janitor in a country club at \$375 a month. Later he left that job and became a farmworker at about \$300 a month. His third job increased his income a bit; he is now a dishwasher at \$416 a month.

Other immigrants have had numerous ups and downs, which do not fit neatly into an artificial set of patterns. Among these are the multiple immigrants.

A 60-year-old Latvian had worked in his native land as a journalist until his anticommunist articles forced him to flee in 1948. He went to Canada, where he worked in a gold mine on a 1-year contract. When that job was over, he learned masonry, started his own masonry business, and went on to operate his own construction firm. In 1957 he went bankrupt and worked as a mason again. Now he is a mason in this country and is planning to start his own firm again.

Still other immigrants, particularly married women, had never been in the labor market before their arrival. This group, as suggested earlier, is a large one, and the jobs of these new labor force participants are generally at low skill levels.

A 40-year-old French Canadian, the mother of several children, was a new arrival in a mill town outside of Boston. She had spent most of her life on a farm in rural Quebec, had left school after the seventh grade, and had never worked outside the home. She and her husband followed their son to the mill town because "there was no work in Canada." One of her sisters helped her secure a job in a shoe factory (an ethnic job), where she was first paid \$1.60 an hour and now receives \$1.80 an hour.

The interviewed immigrants generally had positive reactions to the United States, particularly its economic aspects. Even though many were working below their skill levels, virtually all were better off economically than before.

The noneconomic aspects of life in the United States received the most criticism from the immigrants; they missed the security of the society that they had left and felt a lack of warmth and closeness here; they complained about crime and urban blight. Despite these comments, however, they planned to stay; only one immigrant reported definite plans to return to his home country.

The Crucial Question—the Language

Both immigrants and their employers usually talked about linguistic abilities when they discussed the degree of success in the American economy. Many immigrants felt handicapped by their lack of command of English, and many were doing something about it; employers were quick to point out whether certain jobs demanded--or did not demand--knowledge of the language.

A vibrant union official, a Haitian woman, explaining why clothing firms hire so many immigrants: " . . .you don't have to speak English to the sewing machine, and you don't have to speak English to the lady beside you."

An employer explaining the low turnover among immigrants: " . . .without English they have trouble finding other jobs."

Another employer: " . . .but we can't promote them beyond a certain level unless they can speak English."

There was a very high correlation between success in the labor market and ability to speak English. This does not prove that ability to speak the language causes success (there were some suggestions that success causes one to learn the language), only that the two go hand in hand.

It was clear, to state the relationship negatively, that workers who did not use English in their work and those with ethnic jobs were making less money, and were more likely to be in unskilled positions than those who used English on the job. Further, there was a high correlation between the amount of education obtained before arriving in the United States and the ability to speak the language. Finally, younger immigrants were more likely than older ones to tackle the language.

Two of the immigrant-helping agencies contacted believe so strongly in the importance of English that they subsidize some immigrant families while the breadwinner takes intensive instruction in the language. Although rarely done, providing such support is felt to be a useful investment if the worker has sufficient skills to allow him to secure a good first job in this country. "If the immigrant with training goes to work at a really low-level job because he lacks knowledge of the language, sometimes he never recovers--but if we can train him in English, to the extent that he can get a halfway decent job, then he can pull himself up from there," an agency spokesman said.

Looking at the negative side again, the interviewers found that some immigrants in New York were virtually captives of their employers because of their inability to speak the language.

A Frenchman and his wife, nominally in the employ of a major corporation with a Wall Street address, were, in fact, personal servants to the corporation's board chairman. Neither of the immigrants spoke much English. The interview was arranged through the chairman's wife, who did the interpreting and showed a great deal of suspicion throughout. Given a situation in which the chairman may have been in violation of the income tax laws, his wife's hostility was understandable, if not helpful.

On the other hand--and this is a story heard second hand--an immigrant's facility in another language can sometime help him land a job.

A political refugee has multiple handicaps: he had no work authorization from the Immigration and Naturalization Services, spoke no English, was black, and had no marketable skills (having been studying political science in Hungary on a scholarship he secured in his native Cuba). But he did speak Hungarian. The agency helping him reached out to one of its ex-clients, a Hungarian political refugee who now owns a small factory, and discovered that the factory owner was happy to hire someone who could speak that language.

Immigrants and Their Training

As pointed out earlier, immigrants are more likely to have professional training than other residents of the United States. Further, both the statistics and some of the interviews indicated that many immigrants with professional training have difficulties utilizing that training.

These findings are not new, nor are they equally valid over the entire range of the professions. Werner Von Braun and his fellow German scientists, for example, were fully utilized by the United States, despite their linguistic problems and previous allegiances.

Some professionals can make the transition from one nation to the other with ease, particularly if there are no licensure problems. Pure scientists or college professors in most disciplines have skills readily utilized in this country. Lawyers trained elsewhere, however, have to start all over again.

Licensing is a difficult problem for many immigrants. It involves essentially two types of requirements--vocationally oriented standards and nonvocational ones, such as the requirement that a prospective licensee be a citizen. The requirements are set by State law or regulation and generally reflect the organized desires of the profession being regulated, which usually means that those on the inside want to make it difficult for others to be admitted to the inner circle. ^{3/}

That a pharmacist or X-ray technician should have to pass a test (probably in English) indicating that he has the needed skills is a reasonable requirement; that such a person must have training in an American institution is somewhat less reasonable; and that he must be a citizen makes no sense at all.

Another study supported by the Labor Department, Raul Moncarz' dissertation on the vocational adjustments of skilled Cuban refugees, showed that licensing obstacles prevented a majority of trained Cuban professionals from practicing in the fields of dentistry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, and optometry. On the other hand, he found that most Cuban-trained physicians had been able to resume the practice of medicine. ^{4/}

Although first-hand data on this point were obtained in the present study, it is suspected that a number of the immigrants with professional qualifications who were not working as professionals in 1972 encountered this barrier and/or the language barrier.

The American Council for Emigres in the Professions has extensive experience with these problems. Although its principal objective is to secure work for immigrant professionals in the field of their training, it has found that in some circumstances it is necessary to retrain their clients in related areas of work. For instance, the Council has found that lawyers can be retrained to be librarians, because they are accustomed to codifying and clarifying. Further, they can be retrained as researchers, teachers, social investigators, and claim adjusters.

^{3/} Benjamin Shimberg, Barbara F. Esser, and Daniel H. Kruger, "Occupational Licensing and Public Policy," (Princeton, N.J.: educational Testing Service, 1972 Under contract 81-32-69-03 with the Manpower Administration), pp. 8-10.

^{4/} Raul Moncarz, "A Study of the Effect of Environmental Change on Human Capital Among Selected Skilled Cubans" (Ph. D. dissertation, Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1969, under grant 91-10-69-32 from the Manpower Administration), pp. 228-231.

There is, on the other hand, an apparent shortage of physicians, at least under the way health service delivery systems are now organized. Hence techniques such as the wide acceptance of the examination given by the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates have been developed to make full use of the foreign-trained doctors in this county.

Architects and engineers--who deal with physical things which are not much different in Belgium and China than in the United States--have relatively little difficulty making use of their skills, provided the labor market is such that they can find a job. 5/

Most of the immigrants had just about completed whatever education or training they had contemplated by the time of the interviews. Few were taking additional training, except in English. Again, those few who were taking courses, and a large percentage of those studying English in formal classroom situations, tended to be the ones who had the most education at the time of their arrival.

The Work Ethic and the Working Ethnics

Although the interviews covered a cross section of immigrants, immigrants are not a random sample of any population. They are the people with enough drive and determination to leave their native lands and seek their fortunes in a strange land. It is no wonder, but still interesting, that the interviewers responded to their collective exposure to the immigrants with comments like these:

"They really believe in the work ethic and the American dream."

"They are the super Americans."

"They have an incredible amount of ambition."

The interviewed immigrants, of course, had not been here very long--generally, no more than 2 or 2½ years; their drive and their dreams may fade with the passage of another couple of years, or they may remain as energetic as they are now.

This is not a new point of view. That immigrants have been hard working, upwardly mobile, and successful has been known to Americans for a long, long time. The interviews of immigrants and their employers simply showed that it is still the case (and that employers still appreciate it).

5/ Marie Reith, "Integration of the Refugee Professional, The Dynamics of Immigrant Integration and Ethnic Relations, Highlights from the Special Seminars of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, 1961-1970," ed. by William S. Bernard, (New York: American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, 1972).

Perhaps one negative observation would be appropriate here: although the government exhorts employers to hire the handicapped, the blind, the veteran, the black (and other minority members), and more recently women--and backs up some of these exhortations with the force of law--when did anyone run an advertising campaign saying, "hire an immigrant" or "hire an alien"?

Apparently, there is no need.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

1. Immigrants are making a substantial impact on the U.S. labor market, less so than at the turn of the century, but more so than in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's. Further, it is an uneven impact, affecting cities more than suburbs or rural areas and some States and some occupations with more force than others.

The levels of immigration to the United States have varied dramatically, rising and falling in response to economic cycles, war, and peace, and changes in the immigration laws. In 1905, for instance, when the United States had 80 million people, it accepted more than 1 million immigrants. In 1944, on the other hand, with about 140 million residents, it admitted only 28,000 immigrants.

In recent years, immigration has become fairly well stabilized at a little below 400,000, while the U.S. population has passed 200 million.

The contributions made by immigrants to this country and their impact on the labor market have varied over the years, but in recent years it is estimated that 192,000 new immigrant workers a year arrive in the U.S. labor market. This is equal to about 12 percent of the annual increase in the size of the labor force.

Immigrants have been inclined to move to cities, and they have retained these tendencies, despite the general movement of the population towards the suburbs. Further, immigrants tend to concentrate in certain States, notably on the seacoasts and along the Great Lakes, and in certain occupations.

2. The immigration system has been designed with only the most indirect reference to the needs of the American labor market.

Although a sizable proportion of the increase in the labor force is accounted for by immigrants, the immigration system does not effectively regulate the total number of workers entering the Nation annually. The number has been roughly the same, year after year, and hence does not reflect increases and decreases in the unemployment rate.

The one aspect of the immigration system which seeks to address the impact of immigration on the labor force is the labor certification program, which this study has found to be of marginal utility. It can be used to facilitate or block the arrival of a specific immigrant worker, but its significance is limited for two important reasons: most immigrants enter the country as relatives of citizens or resident aliens and are therefore exempt from labor certification requirements, and a decrease in the number of certifications issued does not necessarily result in a decrease in the numbers of entering workers. Another indication of the futility of the labor certification program is the speed with which labor certification beneficiaries change their occupations. In connection with occupations, this study showed that a majority of the labor certification beneficiaries reported a different occupation on the alien address report, in January 1972, from the one they reported on their visa applications 2 years earlier. This suggests that many beneficiaries are not holding the job for which they were certified.

Further, although immigrants do make an impact on the labor market, a substantially greater impact is made by working alien nonimmigrants, such as students, tourists, exchange visitors, and illegal entrants. The labor certification program does not affect members of those groups.

3. Immigrants in the early 1900's had remarkably different demographic characteristics than other residents of the country. In recent years immigrant cohorts have been approaching the American norm in sex, age, marital status, distribution among the States, and labor force participation.

The earlier immigrants were much younger than Americans generally and were much more likely to be men, much less likely to be married, and much more likely to be in the labor force. They were also much more likely to be unskilled workers.

In recent decades, however, the sex ratios, average ages, marital ratios, and labor force participation rates have tended to approach the American norm. The 1970 cohort of immigrants is a little younger and has a slightly higher ratio of women and workers and a slightly lower incidence of marriage than Americans generally.

4. Although operating much more indirectly than in the past, and presumably less consciously, the American immigration system as it is now constituted facilitates immigration from some nations (notably Mexico, the Philippines, and Italy) and does not facilitate it from others. The system also results in an immigration mix which is heavily weighted toward relatives.

The previous immigration system, with its country of origin quotas, quite deliberately made it easier for immigrants to arrive from the nations of Northern and Western Europe than from elsewhere in the Eastern Hemisphere. The current system, which is designed to reunite families and allow the admission of some refugees and some professionals and other needed workers, has led to increased immigration from nations whose emigrants have qualifications matching the requirements of the current immigration law.

Two particularly striking examples of how the law facilitates immigration from some nations are: (1) The way the third preference (professionals, their spouses and children) has facilitated immigration from the Philippines and (2) the way the fifth preference (brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, their spouses and children) has facilitated immigration from Italy and to a lesser extent, Portugal and Greece.

The distribution of relatives, labor certification beneficiaries, refugees, and members of other, smaller groups among the 1970 cohort of immigrants shows a heavy weighting of the mix in favor of relatives. More than 3 of every 4 were the relatives of U.S. citizens or resident aliens.

5. Immigrants make more of an impact on the labor market than previously supposed. Whereas it has been estimated from visa application information that a minority of immigrants were in the labor force, this study shows that, to the contrary, a majority of immigrants are in the labor force.

It has generally been assumed that immigrants stating an occupation on their visa applications were the only ones who would enter the U.S. labor market. When visa applications on this point were tabulated for immigrants of all ages in recent years, it was found that roughly 6 percent of the immigrants did not state an occupation. (People reporting themselves as students, housewives, retirees, or children were considered not to have a stated occupation.)

The study showed, however, that many immigrants who had not stated an occupation on their visa applications did so when they filed their alien address reports 2 years later. As a matter of fact, for every 100 working-age immigrants in the cohort of 1970 stating an occupation on their visa applications, 123 stated an occupation when they filed their alien address reports in 1972. This increase in labor force participation (largely on the part of people who had previously identified themselves as housewives or students) indicates that a majority (about 52 percent) of immigrants of all ages are, in fact, members of the labor force 2 years after their arrival.

6. Immigrants, on arrival, are more likely to be professionals or craftsmen than Americans generally and are less likely to be either clerical workers or managers. The occupational mix of arriving immigrants, however, is now closer to the American norm than it was earlier in the century.

At the beginning of the century the occupational mix of the immigrant was heavily weighted to farmworkers and other unskilled laborers; the percentages of professionals were small. On the other hand, the largest single grouping of occupations among the 1970 cohort of immigrant workers was professional and technical personnel, which accounted for 29.4 percent of all immigrant workers, while only 14.2 percent of the resident labor force were in that category. Similarly, there were more craftsmen (17.9 percent) among the immigrants than among the residents (12.9 percent).

The differences in 1970, however, were considerably less dramatic than they had been 60 and 70 years earlier.

7. Many immigrant workers move out of their occupation group as a result of contact with the American labor market. Although domestic servants generally move on to better jobs, this movement is more than offset by the downward drift of substantial numbers of professionals and craftsmen.

Comparisons of the immigrant's occupation group when he completed his visa application and in January 1972, when he filed his alien address report, for the 5,000 immigrants in the sample showed movements in all directions. Some went up the occupational ladder (half the domestic servants had found other work by January 1972), some moved laterally, and there was a noticeable downward movement, particularly among professionals and craftsmen.

There was also a substantial amount of occupational mobility. In addition to occupational group movements (such as a professional moving to a clerical job), it included changes within occupational groupings (such as from bank teller to typist). A majority of immigrants reported themselves in a different line of work in 1972 than in 1970.

8. The study showed that particular groups of immigrants, admitted because of specific provisions of the immigration law, had different impacts on the labor market. In this connection, the study examined labor certification beneficiaries, those in the fifth preference, aliens who had adjusted their status from nonimmigrant while in the United States, immigrants from the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and male and female immigrants. It is believed that the potential impacts on the labor market of proposed changes in the law can be predicted.

Labor certification beneficiaries, not surprisingly, tended to have a higher level of skills, higher stated occupation (labor force participation) rates, and lower occupational mobility rates than working-age immigrants generally.

Fifth preference beneficiaries (brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, their spouses and children) tended to have lower skill levels and a higher proportion of men and to be older than working-age immigrants in general.

Adjustees tended to have higher skill levels, higher stated occupation (labor force participation) rates, and a higher ratio of men than other working-age immigrants.

Immigrants from the Eastern and Western Hemispheres showed only slightly different demographic characteristics (age, sex, and marital status ratios), but those from the Eastern Hemisphere were more likely to be professionals than those from the West.

Female immigrants tended to be younger and to have lower stated occupation (labor participation) rates than male immigrants, and they were less likely to be professionals.

The writer believes that any future changes in the ceiling and preference provisions of the immigration law will cause changed impacts on the labor market and feels that such impacts can be predicted. (For instance, an increase in the 170,000 ceiling for the Eastern Hemisphere or a decrease in immigration from Mexico, all else being equal, would produce a higher proportion of professionals among the immigrants. Similarly, enactment of the proposed limitation of fifth preference immigrants to unmarried brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens would lower the average age and the ratio of men in the subsequent immigrant cohorts, again assuming that all else remained equal.)

9. Immigrants continue to compete effectively in the American labor market.

The members of the 1970 cohort of immigrants who were studied showed every sign of the classic immigrant drive for success. Although the data from interviews on the subject were not conclusive, it appeared that immigrants' earnings were substantially greater than they were in their former homelands and not out of line with American averages. Further, immigrants were generally looked upon by their employers as equal to, or better than, native U.S. workers.

In the interviews with both immigrants and their employers, word-of-mouth communication among countrymen was reported to be the most common and effective way that immigrants heard about their first job in the United States. But immigrants who were higher on the occupational ladder or had stayed longer in the country tended to use more formal job-seeking techniques, such as responding to ads and filing applications.

A very substantial number of immigrants in the 2-year period under consideration took an initial decline in occupation group status immediately after their arrival. Many proceeded to move back up the ladder but not always to the level where they had been in their homelands.

10. The crucial variable in achieving success is the command of English. Interviews of employers and immigrants indicated that the single most important determinant of an immigrant's success was his ability to cope with the language. Perhaps success encourages use of English, as well as vice versa, but the two appeared to go hand in hand.

Recommendations

From the findings in this study, the following recommendations appear to be in order.

1. Any further revisions in the immigration law should be made with a regard for the labor market implications of the changes, even though the revisions may not appear, on the surface, to relate to the labor market.

As pointed out in several connections, there is cause and effect relationship between certain provisions in the immigration law and the immigrants' impact on the labor market. (Adjustees tend to include a higher proportion of professionals than immigrants generally, for instance; changing the rules for adjustees will therefore have an effect on the number of professionals admitted, all else being equal.)

To some extent the labor market impacts of proposed immigration law changes can be predicted; it is suggested that such predictions be provided to the Congress. They could be based on the computerized data bank created for this study or on a similar foundation and could be presented to the Congress by the cognizant agency.

2. Consideration should be given to a flexible total flow of immigrants. It would make sense to admit more workers in times of prosperity and fewer in times of depression.

Currently, these are no such flexibilities in the immigration process. In the last 4 fiscal years, the total immigration has varied only slightly, from 358,000 to 385,000; it appears that backlogged applications on the one hand and the statutory limits on the other will keep the numbers of arriving immigrants at the same general levels. (In the depression, by contrast, immigration fell sharply, as would-be immigrants learned of the lack of U.S. job opportunities.)

Some adjustment in the total number of immigrants probably should be made in connection with the Nation's level of prosperity, using an automatic formula; and the number of immigrants admitted should be adjusted to match the levels of employment. Further, these adjustments should affect only those immigrants admitted under the numerical limitations, not the minority admitted outside these ceilings.

One such formula would be to increase or decrease numerically controlled immigration (now set at 290,000 worldwide) by 10 percent for each 0.5 percent change in the unemployment rate, using 5 percent unemployment as a norm. Thus, following a year in which unemployment averaged between 5.5 percent and 6.0 percent, numerically controlled immigration would decline from 290,000 to 261,000; should unemployment stay below 4.5 percent for a year, then the ceiling would increase from 290,000 to 319,000. If feasible, these adjustments could be made at half-yearly intervals; the increases or decreases in ceilings would apply uniformly to all categories of numerically controlled immigration.

3. There is a need for a new set of priorities regarding the labor market aspects of immigration; more emphasis should be placed on those members of the alien labor force who are not immigrants, such as students, exchange visitors, tourists and illegal entrants.

As pointed out in this report, and in the writer's Alien Workers, the impact of the arriving nonimmigrants in the alien work force is far more substantial, and far less regulated, than the impact of the newly arrived immigrants. Yet, the Government's resources are not mounted to cope with this problem.

While in the early years of this century the majority of aliens arriving in the United States did so as immigrants, currently the vast majority are arriving as nonimmigrants; yet many in this category stay in the United States and join the labor force. Whereas some Federal time and effort are spent on deciding whether a specific chef should be allowed through the labor certification process to work in a Boston restaurant, for instance, no Federal time or effort is spent on deciding what thousands of foreign students are permitted to do in the Boston labor market, such decisions being left to the universities which the students attend.

It is proposed that visa issuances to nonimmigrant aliens who are either permitted to work legally or likely to work illegally should be controlled with more care and that more resources be utilized to enforce the visa restrictions.

4. The labor certification program continues to be of minimal utility as it now operates. Two basic changes in the law should be considered:

--Denial of certifications to those who were working illegally in the United States at the time that the application was filed.

--Adoption of a negative certification system, to be administered by the consular service on the basis of criteria supplied by the Labor Department. A potential immigrant worker would supply the consul with documentation on his occupational qualifications, his intended place of residence in the United States, and his intended employer. The Department's negative criteria would bar immigrants from overcrowded occupations, from depressed areas, and from certain employers (those with certifiable criminal connections, serious wage-hour violations, or sustained labor-management difficulties).

The first of these labor certification recommendations relates to the fact that a growing percentage of labor certifications are issued to adjustees, a process which serves largely to legitimate the presence of alien workers currently working illegally. As appendix table 2 indicates, more than 41 percent of the labor certifications utilized in the 1972 fiscal year were supplied to Eastern Hemisphere workers adjusting from nonimmigrant to immigrant status. ^{1/}

The second of the labor certification proposals is designed to eliminate the massive paper-handling task of the Labor Department and, at the same time, guarantee that some of the advantages of the labor certification program be retained. It is an advantage, for instance, that the program does not allow employers to import immigrants as strikebreakers nor does it allow the admission of engineers to the Pacific Northwest, where the supply of unemployed engineers is substantial.

These advantages could be retained and the processing time shortened if the screening process could be handled on a mass-production basis and performed by the consular officers. Under the proposed procedure, the Department of Labor would prepare, from time to time, lists of depressed areas for which no labor certifications would be considered (except perhaps in some occupations with critical shortages such as physicians), lists of overcrowded occupations, and lists of prohibited employers. Using these data, the consular official would determine whether the would-be immigrant sought employment which the Labor Department found acceptable. Once that determination had been made, the consular official would check on the immigrant's job offer and his occupational qualifications; if all was in order, a labor certification would be issued then and there.

One basic question which should be addressed is whether the certification should be a tentative one. Currently, a worker who obtains a labor certification (assuming no provable fraud) can come to this country and work anywhere, at any trade, or not work at all; he has no obligation to work in the occupation for which he received a labor certification nor for the employer who sought his services.

^{1/} The House of Representatives, on May 3, 1973, passed HR 982; one of the provisions of that bill would reach the goal which is proposed here by making it impossible for a nonimmigrant to adjust his status to that of immigrant if he is working illegally. Whether the labor certification or the adjustment mechanism is used for this purpose is not particularly significant, because the proposed legislation also would make it possible for Western Hemisphere non-immigrants, as well as Eastern hemisphere ones, to adjust to immigrant status.

One suggestion would be that the labor certification beneficiary be admitted on a probationary basis for a limited period. He would be obligated to stay in the broad geographical area to which he was certified and work in the occupation for which he was certified, but not necessarily for the same employer. In this way, he would be continuing to fill the occupational need for which he had been certificated. There presumably would have to be an escape mechanism for hardship cases.

On the other hand, such a probationary status would be hard to enforce and would require the utilization of additional manpower and funds. Further, it runs contrary to the main body of American immigration tradition, i.e., that once an immigrant has been admitted to the United States, he is free to pursue whatever course he chooses, as long as it is not contrary to the law.

5. To conserve the skills and training of arriving immigrants and to make sure that they can make the maximum contribution to the Nation, there is a need for expanded (and funded) training, briefing, and assistance programs for immigrant workers; such programs would include full-time training in English, with allowances payable to the immigrant worker.

Immigrant-assisting programs have a long and honorable history. Generally organized on either religious or nationalty lines, the agencies seek to ease the path for the new arrival.

This study suggests that substantial numbers of immigrants, notably professionals, work beneath their skill levels. With this in mind, it is proposed that the Labor Department should seek to conserve the skills of newly arrived immigrants. The Department, through its various manpower programs, spends funds to supply people with job-related skills; it is suggested that the Department subsidize the process by which people with vocational skills, but without English, can learn the English they need to make use of their existing skills. The programs envisioned would not be confined exclusively to the study of the English language; they should also include career counseling, licensing assistance, supplemental skill training, and other job-related elements. Presumably such programs could be operated by the existing immigrant-assisting agencies.

The current manpower legislation makes no distinctions between citizens and permanent resident aliens; both groups can be served by the full range of manpower programs. There is, however, a distinction between immigrants and nonimmigrants; the latter are not normally eligible for manpower training programs.

6. There is a need for concerted, nationwide action to eliminate artificial barriers to full utilization of immigrant professionals which have been created by State law and regulations.

At least part of the downward occupation group movement of immigrant professionals documented in this study can be traced to the licensure practices of the States. To some extent, these practices include artificial requirements, such as citizenship, which adversely affect the ability of otherwise qualified immigrant professionals to make use of their training.

Since this is the case, it is believed that it would be appropriate for a unit of the Department of Labor to encourage the elimination of these barriers.

7. The Alien Address Report (I-53) should be revised to include a question on the alien's employment status, and fuller use should be made of the data available from the report. (See form I-53 reproduced below.)

In January 1972, 4,421,540 aliens filed these cards; of this total, 3,900,059 were permanent resident aliens (i.e., immigrants). The cards are coded and punched by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and some tabulations are printed, such as tables 34, 35, and 36 in the INS Annual Reports, which break down the data by nationality and State of residence.

1972 ALIEN ADDRESS REPORT FORM I-53 (REV. 1-1-72) PRINT OR TYPE ANSWERS COMPLETE ALL ITEMS HAND COMPLETED FORM TO A CLERK IN ANY POST OFFICE OR PLACE IN AN ENVELOPE AND MAIL TO THE NEAREST IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE OFFICE. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE Immigration and Naturalization Service FORM APPROVED OMB NO. 43-RO306		(1) MY NAME IS		(2) COPY NUMBER FROM ALIEN CARD									
		(FAMILY NAME)		(FIRST)		(MIDDLE)							
		(3) MY ADDRESS IN THE UNITED STATES IS:											
		(IN CARE OF)		(NUMBER AND STREET OR RURAL ROUTE)		(APT. NUMBER, IF ANY)		(CITY)		(COUNTY)		(STATE)		(ZIP CODE)
(4) I WAS BORN IN:		(5) I AM A CITIZEN OF:		(6) MY SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER (IF ANY) IS:									
(COUNTRY OF BIRTH)		(COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP)											
(7) I AM		(8) MY DATE OF BIRTH IS:		(9) I AM IN THE UNITED STATES AS: (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)									
1 <input type="checkbox"/> MALE		(MONTH) (DAY) (YEAR)		1 <input type="checkbox"/> IMMIGRANT (PERMANENT RESIDENT) 2 <input type="checkbox"/> VISITOR 3 <input type="checkbox"/> CREWMAN									
2 <input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE				4 <input type="checkbox"/> STUDENT 5 <input type="checkbox"/> EXCHANGE ALIEN 6 <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY) _____									
(10) I ENTERED THE UNITED STATES AT:		(11) MY PRESENT OR MOST RECENT EMPLOYER IN THE UNITED STATES IS:								(12) OCCUPATION:			
(PLACE OR PORT)		(NAME OF FIRM OR COMPANY) (STREET ADDRESS) (CITY) (STATE)											
ON		(13) I CERTIFY THAT THE STATEMENTS ON THIS CARD ARE TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE											
(MONTH) (DAY) (YEAR)		(YOUR SIGNATURE, OR IF UNDER 14 YEARS OLD, SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN)										(DATE)	

At little additional expense, highly useful labor force participation and employment data could be secured through this existing system. Specifically, box 5 (country of citizenship) could be replaced by a labor market question. The country of citizenship box is in addition to a country of birth box; and since the immigration law relates to where one is born rather than the nation of citizenship, the citizenship information is of marginal utility. The new question should be phrased in such a way that it would reveal whether the alien is now working, is looking for work, or is not in the labor market.

In addition to revising the Alien Address Report, the Immigration and Naturalization Service should tabulate the occupational information available on these cards and publish it annually along with other available data, such as State of residence, age, nation of birth, and labor force status. If this data retrieval cannot be carried out on a universal basis, perhaps it could be done on a sample basis by either the Immigration Service or another agency.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Technical Note

The statistics in the cross-tabulations from the TransCentury Survey are based on visa application forms and alien registration cards filed by immigrants and subsequently secured for the study. In a small number of cases, immigrants did not fill in their forms completely, and hence the totals vary from table to table because each table includes data for all immigrants in the sample reporting information on the variables shown in the table. For instance, some immigrants wrote "worker" or "employee" in the occupation box of the forms; they were counted as labor force participants but not in the occupation group totals. Further, information on immigrant classification (filled in by a State Department employee) was more likely to be available than information on occupation. However, in no case does the difference in either cell or marginal totals reflect more than 5 percent of the sample, and in most cases these differences are much smaller.

TABLE 1. EASTERN HEMISPHERE PREFERENCE SYSTEM

Preference	Description	Ceiling	1970 utilization
Total		170,000	172,546
First	Unmarried, adult children of citizens.	34,000	1,089
Second	Spouses, unmarried adult children of resident aliens, and their children.	34,000 plus fall down ¹	30,714
Third	Immigrants in the professions, their spouses, and children.	17,000	17,991
Fourth	Married children of citizens, their spouses, and children.	17,000 plus fall down ¹	8,350
Fifth	Brothers and sisters of citizens, their spouses, and children.	40,800 plus fall down ¹	52,279
Sixth	Skilled workers, their spouses, and children.	17,000	16,025
Seventh	Refugees, their spouses, and children.	10,200	9,863
Nonpreference . .	A catch-all category, largely workers and their families.	Fall down ¹	36,235 ²

¹ The term "fall down" indicates the number of unused visas in a preference category which are available for use in a lower preference category. Since only 1,089 first preference visas were issued in 1970, 32,911 of them "fell down" into the second preference, making the total available for that preference 66,911 (34,000 plus 32,911). "Fall down," however, does not add to the total number of preference visas available in the third and sixth preference totals.

² Includes 176 adjustments under section 244 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

SOURCES: Utilization figures are from *INS Annual Report, 1970*, tables 4 and 7A; ceilings from section 203(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175; 8 U.S.C. 1153), as amended.

TABLE 2. UTILIZATION OF LABOR CERTIFICATIONS, 1968-72

Category	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
1. Visas issued to labor certification beneficiaries	87,983	53,955	48,427	33,670	26,506
2. Third and sixth preference primary adjustees	8,178	7,142	6,958	8,041	9,046
3. Estimated labor certification beneficiaries in nonpreference	2,957	2,093	5,181	6,719	9,413
4. Total adjustees (2 + 3)	11,135	9,235	12,139	14,760	18,459
5. Total utilizations (1 + 4)	99,118	63,190	60,566	48,430	44,965
6. Total immigrants	454,448	358,579	373,326	370,478	384,685
Percent of immigrants with labor certification (5 ÷ 6)	21.8	17.6	16.2	13.0	11.7
Percent of labor certification beneficiaries adjusting (4 ÷ 5)	11.2	14.5	20.0	30.4	41.1

SOURCES: Visa data, unpublished statistics from the FS-258 Series, "Immigrant Visa and Visa Workload Monthly Report," from the Visa Office, U.S. Department of State; third and sixth preference adjustee data, *INS Annual Reports, 1968-1972*, table 6B. Nonpreference adjustee data are estimates based on the

number of nonpreference adjustees multiplied by the percent of labor certification beneficiaries found among all third and sixth preference immigrants, 1968-1972, derived from *INS Annual Reports*, table 4.

TABLE 3. SEX RATIOS OF 1970 COHORT OF IMMIGRANTS, BY IMMIGRATION CATEGORIES

Category and description	Men		Women		Both sexes	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Total	¹ 45.6	2,236	54.4	2,669	100.0	4,905
Eastern Hemisphere worker:						
Labor certification beneficiaries, third, sixth, and nonpreference	66.5	369	33.5	186	11.3	555
Eastern Hemisphere worker's relative:						
Dependents of the above	30.2	112	69.8	259	7.6	371
Eastern Hemisphere relative:						
First, second, fourth, and fifth primary preference.	46.9	315	53.1	356	13.7	671
Eastern Hemisphere relative's relative:						
Dependents of the above	53.3	225	46.7	197	8.6	422
Western Hemisphere worker:						
Labor certification beneficiaries	62.0	414	38.0	254	13.6	668
Western Hemisphere relative:						
All other Western Hemisphere immigrants . .	38.6	435	61.4	691	23.0	1,126
U.S. relative:						
Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (both hemispheres)	33.5	366	66.5	726	22.3	1,092

¹ The 45.6 percent statistic for men differs slightly from the figure quoted elsewhere for the sample. Adequate information for the classification of a small number of the immigrants in the sample was not available, and hence they were left out of the tabulation.

NOTE: Sum of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 4. AGE GROUPS OF 1970 IMMIGRANT COHORT AND 1970 U.S. POPULATION, BY SEX
[Percent]

Age group	1970 immigrant cohort		1970 U.S. population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 5 years	9.1	7.9	8.8	8.1
5 to 13 years	17.2	15.1	18.9	17.2
14 to 17 years	7.6	6.9	8.2	7.5
18 to 20 years	5.4	8.1	5.4	5.3
21 to 24 years	7.7	12.7	6.3	6.4
25 to 34 years	26.9	24.4	12.4	12.2
35 to 44 years	14.0	11.9	11.4	11.4
45 to 54 years	6.6	6.4	11.3	11.5
55 to 64 years	3.6	4.1	8.9	9.4
65 to 74 years	1.5	1.9	5.5	6.7
75 years and over . . . . .	.4	.6	3.0	4.5

SOURCES: Immigrant totals from *INS Annual Report*, available for general population); general population data from 1970, table 10 (with some figures adjusted to match data *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, table 33.

TABLE 5. AGE GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1910 AND 1970
[Percent distribution]

Age group	1910		1970	
	Immigrants	Population	Immigrants	Population
Total: Number	1,041,570	92,407,000	373,326	203,154,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 14 years	11.6	30.6	26.4	28.3
14 to 44 years	83.4	50.9	61.1	41.2
45 years and over	5.1	19.0	12.6	30.4

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

INS Annual Report; data on general population: 1910, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Series A-71-85; 1970, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, table 33.

SOURCES: Data on immigrants: 1910, *Statistical Review of Immigration, Reports of The Immigration Commission*; 1970,

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS OF ADULT IMMIGRANT COHORTS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION,¹ BY SEX, 1920-70

[Percent]

Marital status and population category	1920		1930		1940, both sexes ²	1950		1960		1970	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single:											
Immigrants	57.5	44.2	66.9	48.5	41.1	40.2	26.9	39.2	31.2	29.0	19.8
Population	31.8	24.1	30.9	23.7	27.7	26.2	19.6	25.3	19.0	19.1	13.7
Married:											
Immigrants	40.6	46.9	31.4	45.2	53.2	56.1	62.0	58.5	61.9	69.3	74.6
Population	61.3	60.4	62.1	61.2	61.7	68.0	66.1	69.1	65.9	75.0	68.5
Other ³ :											
Immigrants	2.0	8.8	1.7	5.3	5.7	3.7	11.0	2.1	6.8	1.6	5.4
Population	6.8	16.4	6.8	15.0	10.3	5.9	14.4	5.6	15.4	5.9	17.8

¹ Over 18 years of age for 1970; over 14 years of age for all other years.

² Data for male and female not available.

³ Widowed, separated, or divorced.

1950, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Series A-210-217; 1960 and 1970, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, table 45.

SOURCES: Immigrant data, *INS Annual Reports* for years cited, table 10A and predecessor tables; population data: 1920-

TABLE 7. USAGE OF FIFTH PREFERENCE,¹ SELECTED NATIONS, 1970

Country	Fifth preference admissions		All other admissions under the 170,000 limit	Total
	Number	Percent of total		
Total	52,279	30.5	120,267	172,546
Italy	11,621	58.8	8,138	19,759
Greece	8,061	56.4	6,240	14,301
Portugal	6,869	54.4	5,758	12,627
All other Eastern Hemisphere nations	25,728	20.6	100,131	125,859

¹ Brothers and sisters of citizens, spouses, and children.

SOURCE: *INS Annual Report*, 1970, table 7A.

TABLE 8. RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS, 1899-1910 AND 1961-70

[States ranked by 1961-70 Immigrant Preference Rate¹]

State	Percent of U.S. population (1910 census)	Percent of immigrant admis- sions, 1899-1910	Preference rate, 1899-1910	Percent of U.S. population (1970 census)	Percent of immigrant admis- sions, 1961-70	Preference rate, 1961-70
Hawaii . . . . .	.21	1.00	4.76	.37	1.07	2.89
New York	9.88	31.41	3.18	8.98	24.21	2.70
District of Columbia . . . . .	.36	.14	.39	.37	.86	2.32
California	2.58	2.49	.97	9.84	21.95	2.23
Florida . . . . .	.82	.70	.85	3.33	6.20	1.86
Massachusetts	3.64	7.56	2.07	2.81	4.58	1.63
Connecticut	1.21	2.58	2.13	1.49	2.38	1.60
New Jersey	2.75	5.13	1.86	3.54	5.47	1.55
Rhode Island . . . . .	.59	1.04	1.76	.46	.67	1.46
Arizona . . . . .	.22	.14	.64	.87	1.16	1.33
Illinois	6.11	7.58	1.24	5.48	5.62	1.03
Maine . . . . .	.80	.29	.36	.49	.44	.90
Texas	4.23	.79	.19	5.49	4.88	.88
Vermont . . . . .	.39	.22	.56	.22	.18	.88
Nevada . . . . .	.08	.08	1.00	.24	.21	.87
New Hampshire . . . . .	.46	.36	.78	.36	.31	.86
Washington	1.24	1.17	.94	1.67	1.40	.83
New Mexico . . . . .	.35	.05	.14	.50	.40	.80
Michigan	3.04	2.45	.80	4.38	2.70	.62
Alaska . . . . .	.07	.01	.14	.15	.09	.60
Maryland	1.40	.75	.54	1.93	1.13	.59
Delaware . . . . .	.22	.13	.59	.27	.15	.55
Utah . . . . .	.40	.26	.65	.53	.28	.53
Oregon . . . . .	.73	.30	.41	1.03	.53	.51
Colorado . . . . .	.87	.58	2.87	1.10	.51	.46
Pennsylvania	8.31	18.20	2.19	5.83	2.71	.46
Ohio	5.17	4.27	.82	5.27	2.09	.40
Montana . . . . .	.40	.29	.73	.34	.13	.38
Wyoming . . . . .	.16	.11	.08	.16	.06	.37
North Dakota . . . . .	.63	.63	1.00	.31	.11	.35
Virginia	2.24	.16	.07	2.27	.80	.35
Idaho . . . . .	.35	.08	.22	.35	.12	.34
Louisiana	1.79	.52	.29	1.78	.61	.34
Wisconsin	2.53	1.57	.62	2.18	.73	.33
Minnesota	2.25	1.91	.85	1.88	.57	.30
Indiana	2.92	.69	.24	2.57	.74	.28
Missouri	3.57	1.29	.36	2.32	.61	.26
Kansas	1.83	.32	.17	1.11	.28	.25
Nebraska	1.29	.45	.35	.73	.18	.25
Iowa	2.41	.64	.27	1.39	.29	.21
Georgia	2.83	.06	.02	2.24	.49	.22
Oklahoma	1.80	.09	.05	1.25	.27	.22
South Dakota . . . . .	.63	.37	.59	.33	.06	.18
West Virginia	1.32	.74	.56	.85	.15	.18
North Carolina	2.39	.02	.008	2.48	.43	.17
South Carolina	1.64	.03	.02	1.26	.19	.15
Kentucky	2.48	.07	.03	1.58	.24	.15
Tennessee	2.36	.07	.03	1.92	.27	.14
Alabama	2.32	.11	.04	1.68	.21	.13
Arkansas	1.71	.04	.02	.94	.10	.11
Mississippi	1.94	.06	.03	1.08	.11	.10

¹ The preference rate is the State's percent of immigrants divided by its percent of the population.

table 12. 1899-1910 data from Statistical Review of Immigration, *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Reports of the Immigration Commission, Washington: 1911, p. 105.

SOURCES: 1961-70 data from *INS Annual Report, 1970*,

TABLE 9. RESIDENCE OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION IN CITIES AND URBAN AND RURAL AREAS,¹ 1950-70

[Percent]

Year and category	Immigrants	General population
1950		
Cities	54.3	29.4
Urban areas	26.7	34.6
Rural areas	19.0	36.0
1960		
Cities	54.3	28.5
Urban areas	37.0	41.4
Rural areas	8.6	30.1
1970		
Cities	57.5	27.7
Urban areas	36.1	45.8
Rural areas	6.3	26.5

¹ Cities have populations of over 100,000, urban areas 2,500 to 100,000, and rural areas under 2,500.

Reports for those years, table 12B. Data for general population from *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, table 17.

SOURCES: Data for place of intended residence reported by the 1950, 1960, and 1970 cohorts of immigrants, *INS Annual*

TABLE 10. 1970 IMMIGRANT COHORT STATED OCCUPATION RATES, 1970 AND 1972

Sex		Occupation	No occupation	Total ¹
		Entry, 1970		
Men:	Percent	89.1	10.9	100.0
	Number	1,835	224	2,059
Women:	Percent	41.8	58.2	100.0
	Number	1,034	1,440	2,474
Both sexes:	Percent	63.3	36.7	100.0
	Number	2,869	1,664	4,533
		Registration, 1972		
Men:	Percent	95.9	4.1	100.0
	Number	1,975	84	2,059
Women:	Percent	62.5	37.5	100.0
	Number	1,547	927	2,474
Both sexes:	Percent	77.7	22.3	100.0
	Number	3,522	1,011	4,533

¹ Totals are for those workers for whom occupation data were available at both entry and registration.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 11. IMMIGRATION CLASSIFICATION OF 1970 COHORT OF IMMIGRANTS
FIRST STATING OCCUPATION AT 1972 REGISTRATION AND ON VISA
APPLICATION AT ENTRY¹

Immigration classification	Newly stated occupation		Stated occupation at entry, percent
	Number	Percent	
Total	819	100.0	100.0
Eastern Hemisphere:			
Worker	9	1.1	11.3
Worker's relative	76	9.3	7.6
Relative	106	12.9	13.7
Relative's relative	91	11.1	8.6
Western Hemisphere:			
Worker	12	1.5	13.6
Relative	337	41.1	23.0
U.S. relative	188	23.0	22.3

¹ Includes all workers stating occupation on either occasion.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 12. OCCUPATION STATED ON VISA¹ AND 2 YEARS LATER, 1970 COHORT OF IMMIGRANTS

Occupation group	Men			Women		
	Stated occupation at entry, percent	Newly stated occupation		Stated occupation at entry, percent	Newly stated occupation	
		Percent	Number		Percent	Number
Total	100.0	100.0	148	100.0	100.0	548
Professional and technical workers . . .	22.1	9.5	14	32.4	4.9	27
Craftsmen and foremen	33.2	12.2	18	2.1	2.9	16
Operatives	8.4	25.0	37	15.7	33.6	184
Household workers . . . . .	.3	.7	1	13.4	2.6	14
Other service workers	4.8	8.1	12	11.3	14.1	77
Farm laborers	2.1	5.4	8	.4	1.3	7
Laborers	13.5	18.2	27	3.2	11.5	63
Clerical workers	6.0	16.2	24	18.4	22.1	121
All other	9.6	4.7	7	3.0	7.0	39

¹ Data at entry reflect the occupational mix of those with stated occupations at that time.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 13. OCCUPATION OF IMMIGRANTS,¹ AND THE GENERAL POPULATION, 1910-70

[Percent]

Occupation group	1910		1930		1950		1960		1970	
	Immi-grants	Popula-tion	Immi-grants	Popula-tion	Immi-grants	Popula-tion	Immi-grants	Popula-tion	Immi-grants	Popula-tion
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technical workers	1.2	4.7	6.3	6.8	16.2	8.6	17.9	11.2	29.4	14.2
Managers, proprietors, and officials	1.9	6.6	3.4	7.4	5.1	8.8	4.3	10.6	3.7	10.5
Clerical and sales workers ...	1.5	10.0	10.6	15.2	13.3	19.3	19.9	21.3	10.5	23.5
Craftsmen and operatives....	15.6	26.2	23.9	28.6	32.8	34.6	27.8	30.7	29.7	30.5
Laborers.....	27.7	12.0	13.3	11.0	4.5	6.6	10.5	5.5	9.0	5.1
Household workers.....	12.4	5.0	21.4	4.1	7.0	2.5	6.7	12.4	6.7	12.3
Other service workers	1.1	4.6	5.0	5.7	4.0	7.8	7.2		5.9	
Farmers	1.5	16.5	6.2	12.4	13.9	7.3	2.5	8.1	2.4	3.9
Farm laborers	37.0	14.4	10.1	8.8	13.2	4.4	3.2		2.7	

¹Based on stated occupations on visa applications.

Annual Reports, table 10A; data on general population, 1910-50, *Historical Statistics*, Series D-72-122; 1960 and 1970, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, table 366.

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCES: Immigrant data, 1910-50, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Series C-115, 132; 1960 and 1970, *INS*

TABLE 14. OCCUPATION GROUP AT ENTRY OF 1970 IMMIGRANTS BY: IMMIGRATION CLASSIFICATION

Immigration classification	Professional and technical	Farmer	Manager, etc.	Salesworker	Craftsman and foreman	Operative	Household service	Other service	Farm laborer	Laborer	Student	Housewife	Clerical worker	Total
Eastern Hemisphere:														
Worker	69.2% 332	0.2% 1	2.3% 11	0.8% 4	13.1% 63	3.3% 16	0.4% 2	3.1% 15	0.2% 1	0.2% 1	1.7% 8	0.6% 3	4.8% 23	11.0% 480
Worker's relative . .	21.5% 65	.3% 1	2.6% 8	2.6% 8	2.3% 7	3.6% 11	1.3% 4	4.3% 13	--	1.3% 4	9.3% 28	42.4% 128	8.3% 25	6.9% 302
Relative	10.1% 54	4.3% 23	3.7% 20	1.7% 9	12.4% 66	7.3% 39	1.5% 8	5.4% 29	.9%	8.6% 46	2.8% 15	36.0% 192	5.2% 28	12.2% 534
Relative's relative . .	7.1% 28	4.3% 17	2.8% 11	--	12.2% 48	8.4% 33	2.8% 11	6.1% 24	2.8% 11	7.8% 31	16.7% 66	24.6% 97	4.6% 18	9.0% 395
Western Hemisphere:														
Worker	12.7% 84	--	.9% 6	.2% 1	45.0% 299	13.7% 91	9.5% 63	7.1% 47	.3%	.9%	.8%	1.2% 8	7.8% 52	15.2% 664
Relative	4.0% 43	1.7% 18	1.5% 16	.7% 8	6.3% 68	6.9% 75	2.1% 23	3.5% 38	.9%	7.3% 79	19.7% 213	38.3% 415	7.1% 77	24.7% 1,083
U.S. relative	8.9% 82	1.0% 9	1.5% 14	1.3% 12	6.3% 58	3.6% 33	2.3% 21	2.7% 25	1.4% 13	11.2% 103	4.4% 40	49.5% 455	5.9% 54	21.0% 919
Total	15.7% 688	1.6% 69	2.0% 86	1.0% 42	13.9% 609	6.8% 298	3.0% 132	4.4% 191	1.0% 42	6.2% 270	8.6% 375	29.7% 1,298	6.3% 277	100.0% 4,377

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Upper cell entries are percents of row totals, except in the total column, where the upper cell entries are percents of column total. Sum of percentages in total column and row may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 15. OCCUPATION GROUP OF 1970 IMMIGRANTS BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Region	Professional and technical	Farmer	Manager, etc.	Salesworker	Craftsman and foreman	Operative	Household service	Other service	Farm laborer	Laborer	Student	Housewife	Clerical worker	Total
Canada	22.3% 70	0.3% 1	4.1% 13	1.6% 5	8.6% 27	3.8% 12	1.0% 3	2.2% 7	0.6% 2	4.5% 14	6.4% 20	36.6% 115	8.0% 25	7.2% 314
Mexico	1.7% 11	2.3% 15	.5% 3	.5% 3	8.4% 54	3.7% 24	3.9% 25	3.1% 20	2.0% 13	18.9% 122	9.6% 62	43.0% 278	2.5% 16	14.8% 646
Caribbean	7.2% 46	1.1% 7	1.3% 8	.8% 5	17.8% 113	12.9% 82	7.7% 49	7.7% 49	1.1% 7	3.9% 25	15.4% 98	12.1% 77	11.0% 70	14.6% 636
Central and South America	7.4% 48	.2% 1	.8% 5	.2% 1	29.8% 194	10.4% 68	4.0% 26	2.9% 19	--	1.7% 11	8.6% 56	27.1% 177	7.1% 46	15.0% 652
Northern and Western Europe	23.5% 59	--	4.0% 10	1.6% 4	12.0% 30	2.0% 5	.4% 1	4.4% 11	--	1.6% 4	4.4% 11	34.7% 87	11.6% 29	5.8% 251
Southern and Eastern Europe	8.8% 68	4.5% 35	2.6% 20	1.0% 8	16.6% 129	8.6% 67	1.8% 14	3.6% 28	2.3% 18	9.0% 70	4.0% 31	34.4% 267	2.8% 22	17.8% 777
European possessions	16.3% 7	--	2.3% 1	--	16.3% 7	--	2.3% 1	9.3% 4	--	2.3% 1	9.3% 4	20.9% 9	20.9% 9	1.0% 43
Asia	35.4% 320	1.0% 9	2.2% 20	1.5% 14	3.9% 35	3.8% 34	1.3% 12	5.4% 49	.2% 2	1.9% 17	9.1% 82	29.1% 263	5.3% 48	20.8% 905
Africa	58.5% 55	--	4.3% 4	2.1% 2	4.3% 4	3.2% 3	--	2.1% 2	--	1.1% 1	2.1% 2	14.9% 14	7.4% 7	2.2% 94
Australasia	40.0% 14	--	5.7% 2	2.9% 1	5.7% 2	2.9% 1	--	2.9% 1	--	--	2.9% 1	22.9% 8	14.3% 5	.8% 35
Total . . .	16.0% 698	1.6% 68	2.0% 86	1.0% 43	13.7% 595	6.8% 296	3.0% 131	4.4% 190	1.0% 42	6.1% 265	8.4% 367	29.7% 1,295	6.4% 277	100.0% 4,353

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Upper cell entries are percents of row totals, except in the total column, where the upper cell entries are percents of column total. Sum of percentages in total column and row may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 16. OCCUPATION GROUP OF 1970 IMMIGRANTS AT ENTRY AND AT REGISTRATION

Occupation group in January 1972	Entry occupation group													
	Professional and technical	Farmer	Manager, etc.	Salesworker	Craftsman and foreman	Operative	Household service	Other service	Farm laborer	Laborer	Student	Housewife	Clerical worker	Total
Professional and technical	82.3%	--	1.7%	0.4%	2.8%	0.2%	--	0.9%	0.2%	0.8%	3.4%	4.1%	3.2%	13.3%
Farmer	437	--	9	2	15	1	--	5	1	4	18	22	17	531
	33.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--	33.3%	--	--	33.3%	--	--	.1%
Manager, proprietor, and official	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	3
Salesworker	14.0%	--	27.9%	2.3%	11.6%	12.8%	--	7.0%	--	1.2%	5.8%	12.8%	4.7%	2.2%
	12	--	24	2	10	11	--	6	--	1	5	11	4	86
	18.0%	--	9.8%	21.3%	4.9%	8.2%	--	3.3%	--	1.6%	6.6%	18.0%	8.2%	1.5%
Craftsman and foreman	11	--	6	13	3	5	--	2	--	1	4	11	5	61
	3.3%	2.7%	2.2%	--	67.8%	4.4%	0.7%	1.3%	.7%	6.7%	4.4%	3.8%	2.0%	11.3%
Operative	15	12	10	--	306	20	3	6	3	30	20	17	9	451
	5.3%	1.2%	1.4%	.8%	16.0%	19.8%	3.0%	3.9%	.6%	8.4%	9.0%	26.3%	4.4%	16.1%
	34	8	9	5	103	127	19	25	4	54	58	169	28	643
Household service .	1.7%	--	1.7%	1.7%	--	6.8%	57.6%	5.1%	--	--	3.4%	22.0%	--	1.5%
	1	--	1	1	--	4	34	3	--	--	2	13	--	59
Other service	4.3%	3.9%	2.2%	1.4%	14.5%	10.6%	6.3%	20.8%	.7%	9.2%	4.8%	16.9%	4.3%	10.4%
	18	16	9	6	60	44	26	86	3	38	20	70	18	414
Farm laborer	1.6%	11.3%	1.6%	--	8.1%	--	3.2%	--	16.1%	30.6%	17.7%	9.7%	--	1.6%
	1	7	1	--	5	--	2	--	10	19	11	6	--	62
Laborer	4.1%	5.2%	1.9%	.5%	17.4%	6.8%	1.4%	3.5%	4.6%	23.7%	9.0%	16.3%	5.4%	9.2%
	15	19	7	2	64	25	5	13	17	87	33	60	20	367
	6.4%	.8%	.8%	--	1.6%	1.6%	.8%	3.2%	--	1.6%	75.2%	5.6%	2.4%	3.1%
Student	8	1	1	--	2	2	1	4	--	2	94	7	3	125
Housewife	4.2%	.1%	.1%	.4%	.1%	2.0%	1.7%	2.0%	--	1.3%	1.7%	82.5%	3.9%	19.2%
	32	1	1	3	1	15	13	15	--	10	13	632	30	766
Clerical worker . .	20.0%	.5%	.9%	1.4%	1.6%	4.2%	2.6%	2.6%	--	.9%	12.8%	21.3%	31.3%	10.8%
	86	2	4	6	7	18	11	11	--	4	55	92	135	431
Total . .	16.8%	1.7%	2.1%	1.0%	14.4%	6.8%	2.9%	4.4%	1.0%	6.3%	8.4%	27.8%	6.7%	100.0%
	671	66	82	40	576	272	114	177	38	250	334	1,110	269	3,999

NOTE: Upper cell entries are percents of row totals, except in the total column, where the upper cell entries are percents of column total. Sums of percentages in total column and row may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 17. OCCUPATION GROUP MOVEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS BETWEEN ENTRY AND REGISTRATION

Occupation group	At entry	Departures ¹	Arrivals ²	At registration	Net change
Total	3,999	2,014	2,014	3,999	0
Professional and technical workers	671	234	94	531	-140
Farmers	66	66	3	3	-63
Managers proprietors, and officials	82	58	62	86	+4
Salesworkers	40	27	48	61	+21
Craftsmen and foremen	576	270	145	451	-125
Operatives	272	145	516	643	+371
Household workers	114	80	25	59	-55
Other service workers	177	91	328	414	+237
Farm laborers	38	28	52	62	+24
Laborers	250	163	280	367	+117
Clerical workers	269	134	296	431	+162
Students	334	240	31	125	-209
Housewives	1,110	478	134	766	-344

¹ Immigrants who no longer classify themselves as belonging to the occupation group listed.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973 (and table 16).

² Immigrants who had formerly classified themselves in another occupation group.

TABLE 18. OCCUPATION GROUP, AT ENTRY AND REGISTRATION, OF LABOR CERTIFICATION BENEFICIARIES AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS IN 1970 SAMPLE

Occupation group	Labor certification beneficiaries				Other immigrants			
	Entry		Registration		Entry		Registration	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Total	100.0	1,201	100.0	1,169	100.0	3,359	100.0	3,258
Professional and technical workers	35.7	429	32.0	374	8.7	292	8.0	261
Farmers . . . . .	.2	3	.1	1	2.0	67	.1	3
Managers, proprietors, and officials	1.4	17	2.4	28	2.2	73	2.0	67
Salesworkers . . . . .	.5	6	1.2	14	1.1	37	2.0	64
Craftsmen and foremen	31.4	377	17.8	209	7.7	260	8.3	271
Operatives	9.5	114	14.1	165	5.9	198	16.1	523
Household workers	5.7	69	2.3	28	2.1	69	1.0	33
Other service workers	5.6	67	10.1	119	3.9	131	10.8	349
Farm laborers . . . . .	.3	4	.2	2	1.2	39	1.9	62
Laborers . . . . .	.6	7	4.8	57	8.2	276	10.3	336
Clerical workers	6.4	77	12.2	143	6.2	208	10.4	339
Students	1.3	15	.8	9	11.1	374	4.1	135
Housewives	1.3	16	1.7	20	39.5	1,328	25.0	815

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES AMONG LABOR CERTIFICATION BENEFICIARIES AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS, 1970-72

Category	Changed occupation	Did not change occupation	Total
Total	1,764	937	2,701
Other immigrants:			
Percent	71.4	28.6	100.0
Number	1,129	453	1,582
Labor certification beneficiaries:			
Percent	56.7	43.3	100.0
Number	635	484	1,119

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 20. DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTEES AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS, 1969-72

Category	1969	1970	1971	1972
All immigrants	358,739	373,326	370,378	384,685
Adjustees	29,257	55,761	73,325	89,181
Adjustees as percent of all immigrants.	8.2	14.9	19.8	23.2

SOURCE: INS Annual Reports, 1969-72, table 6B.

TABLE 21. OCCUPATION GROUP OF MALE AND FEMALE IMMIGRANTS, AT ENTRY AND AT REGISTRATION

Occupation group	Men				Women			
	Entry		Registration		Entry		Registration	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Total	100.0	1,998	100.0	2,131	100.0	2,410	100.0	2,366
Professional and technical workers	19.7	395	18.4	394	12.7	306	10.9	257
Farmers	3.2	65	.2	4	.2	5	0.0	0
Managers, proprietors, and officials	4.1	82	3.2	69	.2	6	1.3	30
Salesworkers	1.2	25	2.1	45	.7	18	1.4	34
Craftsmen and foremen	29.6	594	21.1	451	.8	20	1.7	41
Operatives	7.6	152	15.8	338	6.1	148	15.3	361
Household service workers . . . . .	.3	7	.1	2	5.3	127	2.5	60
Other service workers	4.3	86	12.1	259	4.4	107	9.2	217
Farm laborers	1.9	38	2.6	55	.2	4	.4	9
Laborers	12.0	241	13.7	292	1.2	30	4.5	107
Clerical workers	5.3	107	6.5	140	7.2	174	14.6	345
Students	10.3	207	3.8	82	7.0	169	2.8	66
Housewives	--	--	--	--	53.8	1,296	35.5	839

NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCE: TransCentury Survey, 1973.

TABLE 22. OCCUPATION GROUP OF THE GENERAL POPULATION, 1970, AND IMMIGRANTS AT REGISTRATION, 1972

[Percent]

Occupation group	Immigrants		General population	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technical workers	19.2	17.6	14.0	14.5
Farmers . . . . .	.2	0.0	3.4	.3
Managers, proprietors, and officials	3.4	2.1	14.2	4.5
Salesworkers	2.2	2.3	5.6	7.0
Craftsmen and foremen	22.0	2.8	20.1	1.1
Operatives	16.5	24.7	19.6	14.5
Household service workers . . . . .	.2	4.1	.1	5.1
Other service workers	12.6	14.9	6.6	16.5
Farm laborers	2.7	.6	1.9	1.5
Laborers	14.3	7.3	7.3	.5
Clerical workers	6.8	23.6	7.1	34.5

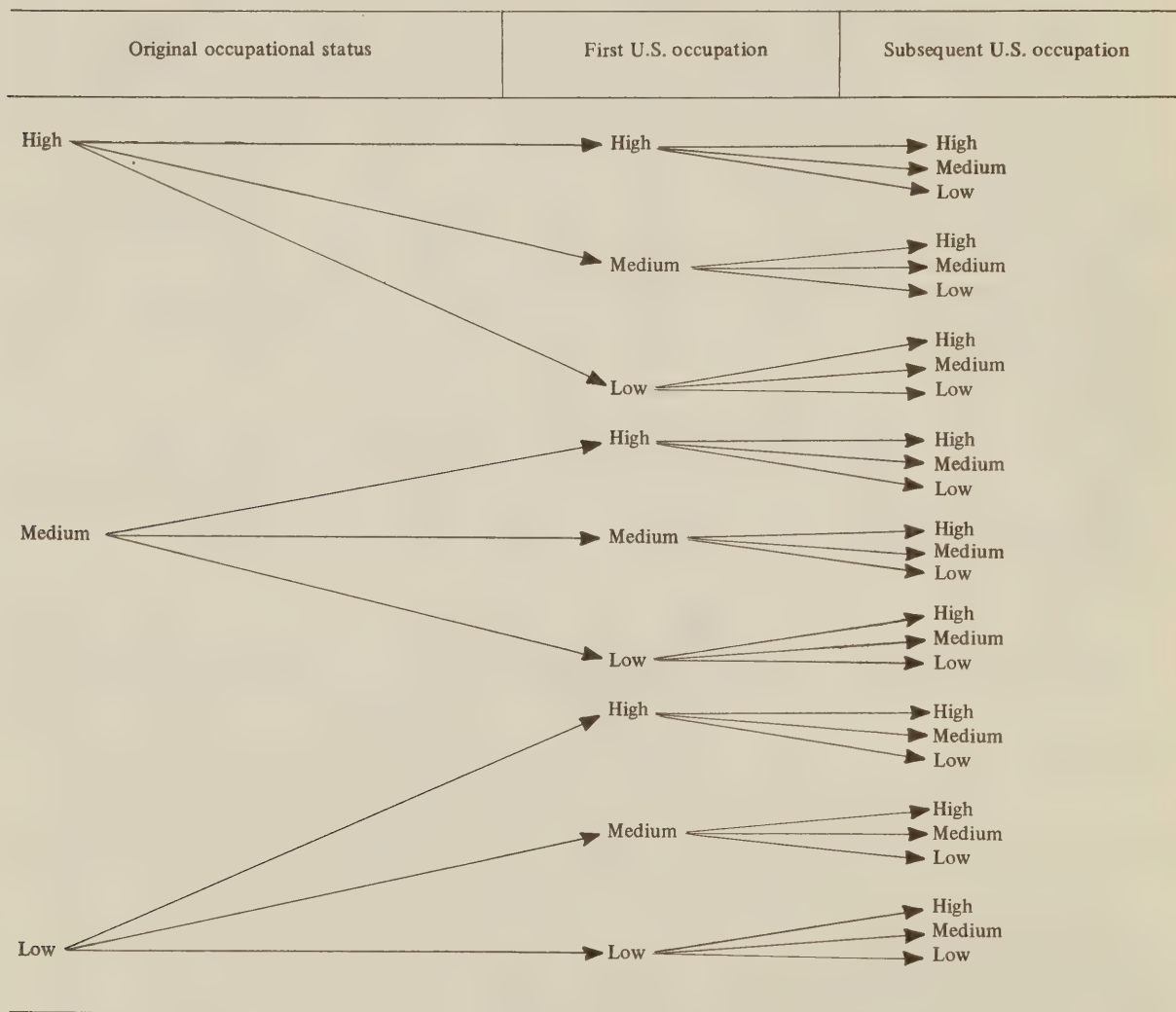
NOTE: Sums of percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

grants are from TransCentury Survey, 1973, and on the general population, from *Employment and Earnings*, vol. 18, No. 7, table A-17.

SOURCES: Data for both groups are for labor force participants (or those with stated occupations) only; data on immi-

CHART 1. ALTERNATIVE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT PATTERNS OF IMMIGRANTS OVER TIME

[A theoretical construction, assuming continuous labor force participation]



WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION

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